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**THE STORY OF
BUCKINGHAM PALACE**



KING GEORGE V

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**THE STORY OF
BUCKINGHAM
PALACE :** An Uncon-
ventional Study of the Palace
from its earliest times, together
with some account of the Anec-
dotes and vivid Personalities
connected with it # # # #
by **BRUCE GRAEME**

With thirtystwo Photogravures

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INTRODUCTION

IN the centre of the vast fusion of ancient cities, towns, and villages which to-day forms the heart of an Empire, stands a modest, unpretentious, and much-criticized edifice.

In the midst of London, unheeded and strangely uncherished, rises Buckingham Palace. For the few Londoners, the many provincials, and the crowds of foreign tourists who daily throng to the outskirts of the courtyard, its sole claim to fame lies in the ever-picturesque ceremony of the Changing of the Guard, yet for all loyal Britons its real interest must lie in the fact that within its substantial, if unbeautiful, walls is the home of the Ruler of the British Empire and his family : of all the families who have ruled the British peoples, the most regal, the most democratic, the most respected, and the most beloved.

This alone should be a sufficiently good reason why the people of Great Britain should have the opportunity of appreciating the history of the most modern of palaces, for, that it has a history is undeniable . . . in the years which have rolled by since James I was king, the site upon which Buckingham Palace is now built has been occupied successively, by a silkworm farm ; an entertainment garden, frequented by the bucks of the Court, and the belles of the country ; by a small, ill-built villa named Goring House, by a more ostentatious mansion called after its creator, Arlington House, and lastly, by a palace in all but name, built as his London residence by the Duke of Buckingham, and which has been known to Londoners as Buckingham House, Queen's House, St. George's Palace, Pimlico Palace, and finally, as

Buckingham Palace, which, rebuilt by George IV, the spend-thrift monarch, was subsequently altered for Queen Victoria, and became a palace indeed.

It is with this end in view that I have endeavoured to produce an unconventional study, as accurate as a marked lack of essential data, and as unbiased as the political prejudices of contemporary writers, will allow, but, at the same time, one which I trust will be accepted as a readable story rather than a mere recitation of dates and historical facts.

BRUCE GRAEME

LONDON, 1928.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	7
CHAPTER I. THE MULBERRY GARDEN	13
II. THE MULBERRY GARDEN (CONCLUDED)	22
III. GORING HOUSE	34
IV. GORING HOUSE (CONTINUED)	44
V. GORING HOUSE (CONCLUDED)	55
VI. ARLINGTON HOUSE	64
VII. ARLINGTON HOUSE (CONCLUDED)	76
VIII. BUCKINGHAM HOUSE	85
IX. BUCKINGHAM HOUSE (CONTINUED)	97
X. BUCKINGHAM HOUSE (CONTINUED)	107
XI. BUCKINGHAM HOUSE (CONTINUED)	119
XII. BUCKINGHAM HOUSE (CONTINUED)	126
XIII. BUCKINGHAM HOUSE (CONCLUDED)	135
XIV. QUEEN'S HOUSE	146
XV. QUEEN'S HOUSE (CONTINUED)	157
XVI. QUEEN'S HOUSE (CONTINUED)	174
XVII. QUEEN'S HOUSE (CONCLUDED)	185
XVIII. BUCKINGHAM PALACE: GEORGE IV	199
XIX. BUCKINGHAM PALACE: WILLIAM IV	206
XX. BUCKINGHAM PALACE: VICTORIA	221
XXI. BUCKINGHAM PALACE: VICTORIA (CONTINUED)	231
XXII. BUCKINGHAM PALACE: VICTORIA (CONTINUED)	240
XXIII. BUCKINGHAM PALACE: VICTORIA (CONCLUDED)	251
XXIV. BUCKINGHAM PALACE: EDWARD VII	256
XXV. BUCKINGHAM PALACE: GEORGE V	266
BIBLIOGRAPHY	277
INDEX	281

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

KING GEORGE V	<i>Frontispiece</i>
JAMES I	FACING PAGE 16
GORING HOUSE, 1632	24
CHARLES I	32
PLAN OF THE GORING ESTATE, 1640	40
WILLIAM LENTHALL	48
PLAN OF THE GORING ESTATE, 1675	56
CHARLES II	72
PLAN OF SIR THOMAS GROSVENOR'S ESTATE, 1681	80
HENRY BENNET, EARL OF ARLINGTON	88
JAMES II	96
JOHN SHEFFIELD, FIRST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM	104
BUCKINGHAM HOUSE	112
HENRY FITZROY, FIRST DUKE OF GRAFTON	120
QUEEN MARY	128
PLAN OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM'S ESTATE, 1743	136
QUEEN ANNE	144
PROSPECT OF ST. JAMES'S PARK, FROM BUCKINGHAM HOUSE, 1736	152
ISABELLA (BENNET), DUCHESS OF GRAFTON	160
WILLIAM CAVENDISH, FIRST DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE	168
PLAN OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM'S ESTATE, 1760	176
GEORGE III	192
BUCKINGHAM PALACE, FROM THE GARDENS	200
GEORGE IV, AS PRINCE OF WALES	208
ST. GEORGE'S PALACE	216
QUEEN VICTORIA	224
ENTRANCE TO THE PALACE	232
QUEEN VICTORIA AND PRINCE ALBERT	240
BUCKINGHAM PALACE AS IT APPEARS TO-DAY	248
QUEEN VICTORIA	256
KING EDWARD VII	264
ANOTHER VIEW OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE	272

THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

CHAPTER I

THE MULBERRY GARDEN

TO recall the earliest associations of the site at present occupied by Buckingham Palace it is necessary to delve back into history as remote as the first century Anno Domini when the Romans conquered Britain, and built four roads, famous to this day for construction and durability. It actually stands upon the original Watling Street, or the road of Waetla, of which Chaucer wrote in his "House of Fame," and which ran from Dover to Chester, before London was built. This road passed down the present Park Lane and, crossing what is now Piccadilly, ran direct to Westminster, where, doubtless, there was a ford at low water which enabled the traveller to reach the second section of the road at Stangate.

Between Piccadilly and Westminster the ground was marshy, and watered by two streams, the Westbourne and the Tyburn, which approached very near each other in the neighbourhood of the modern Hyde Park Corner. That the two rivers did not merge into one was due to the Tyburn's taking a sudden turn at "Bulunga Fen," so named by the Britons before the Norman Conquest. From this place Watling Street descended Constitution Hill; and here, with its front actually on the old course of the Tyburn, its north-western corner on the original Watling Street, Buckingham Palace now stands.

14 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

The first monarch to see the possibilities of making use of this marsh-land was King Henry VIII, who, so long as it was to his own advantage, saw possibilities in making use of most things, whether they belonged to anyone else or not. Henry, in search of a convenient spot for the erection of a new palace, discovered a fairly considerable stretch of watery waste, in the midst of which he built St. James's Palace, on the site of the old hospital of St. James, after which, in 1531, he enclosed the surrounding land, had it drained, and entitled the whole, St. James's Park, annexing it for his own.

The Park remained untouched throughout the succeeding reigns until the year 1607, by which time James I of England and VI of Scotland had succeeded to the joint throne of the two countries.

James I, the son of Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, and Mary Queen of Scots, was born on 19th June, 1566, in Edinburgh Castle. His early environment was anything but one in which to rear either a future king or a healthy-minded boy of any station in life. Contending factions sought to influence him by their intrigues; their efforts were not unsuccessful in moulding his character, but scarcely in the desired direction, for James learned only timidity, deceit, and a love of peace which, in later life, was to be the cause of many promises made, but never fulfilled.

There is but little doubt that James possessed a somewhat unenviable character, yet even so, he has been much misrepresented by historians. James was liberal, fond of arts and literature, performed many acts of filial and paternal solicitude, was generous to his relatives, and above all, despite many opinions to the contrary, loved his kingdom, and often did for it what he believed to be all for its ultimate good.

He was both idealist and dreamer, but unfortunately, as with many idealists, there was no lack of enthusiasm in promoting his schemes, but a tremendous lack of the necessary concentration needed to carry them forward to a successful conclusion.

The pages of his life's history abound with impossible

schemes which failed ; such a one was his conception of the Mulberry Garden, an Arcadian project promoted to establish a silk industry in England.

It is impossible now to establish with any certainty whether the original thought germinated in James's active brain, or whether it was slyly suggested to him by one William Stallenge, a gentleman who proved to be the only person to benefit by the adoption of this unfortunate plan.

At any rate, James, hoping to follow the example of Henry IV of France in establishing a silk-growing industry, took the proposal to heart, and so, on the 5th January, 1607, a licence was issued to William Stallenge, for twenty-one years, to print and publish a book entitled : " Instructions for the Planting and Increase of Mulberry Trees, Breeding of Silkworms, and the Making of Silk."

This was the first step ; the second was that of James instructing the Deputy-Lieutenants of Counties to require landowners : " to purchase, and plant, 10,000 mulberry trees, to be delivered to purchasers in March or April next, at the rate of 6/- per thousand. . . ." Continuing, the King informed his Deputy-Lieutenants that a book of instructions on mulberry trees and silkworms was soon to be published in order to encourage the silk trade in England.

There is depth of feeling in this letter : when James wrote it he saw a roscate-hued vision of a new and glorious national industry, created by himself. Possibly he was not aware that in 1599 was published a didactic essay on the art of breeding silkworms entitled : " Silke-wormes and their Flies, lively described in verse by T.M., a countrie farmer, and an apprentic in physicke."

To the Lord-Lieutenants of several Shires His Majesty wrote :

" It is a principall part of that Christian care which
" appertaineth to sovereigntie, to endeavour, by all meanes
" possible . . . to increase, among their people, the
" knowledge and practise of all artes and trades . . . thus

" raysing and encreasing them in wealth and abundance.
 " . . . And, therefore, we have thought good hereby to
 " let you understand, that although, in suffering this
 " invention to take place, we doe shew our selves some-
 " what an adversarie to our profit, which, in the matter
 " of our customes for silke brought from beyond the
 " seas, will receive deminution: neverthesse, when
 " there is question of so great and publique utilitie, and
 " whereby . . . such as in regard of impotencie are unfit
 " for other labour, may be set on worke, comforted, and
 " releved, we are content that our private benefit shall
 " give way to our publique. . . .

" . . . if you, and other your neighbours, will be
 " content to take some good quantities here (of mulberry
 " trees), to distribute upon your own lands: we are
 " content to acknowledge . . . are things so naturally
 " pleasing to our owne disposition, as we shall take if for
 " an argument of extraordinarie affectation towards our
 " person; . . . and shall esteeme that, in furthering the
 " same, they seeke to further our honour and contentment,
 " who having seene in few yeares space past, that our
 " brother, the French king, hath, since his coming to that
 " crowne, both begunne and brought to perfection the
 " making of silkes in his country . . . whereby he hath
 " wonne to himself honour, and to his subjectes a mer-
 " vailous increase of wealth, would account it no little
 " happinesse to us, if the same worke . . . might, in
 " our time, produce the fruits which there it hath
 " done."

The dream of an idealist ! Perhaps, but who can deny
 that there was a firm foundation for his vision of a future
 great industry ? Silk had already established the wealth of
 past and forgotten citics and cmpires : Babylon, Damascus,
 Tyre, Egypt, Asia Minor, all fostered a silk industry ; after
 the death of Christ, or the beginning of a new, enlightened
 world, Justinias introduced silk breeding and weaving



JAMES I
From a painting by A. Van Dyke.

establishments into Greece, and before very long every town of any importance had its silkworms.

It took six hundred years for silk breeding to move westward; when it did, in the year 1148, it was because King Roger of Sicily forcibly transferred the best workmen from Thebes, Athens, and Corinth, and established them, as a royal monopoly, in Palermo. Protected and encouraged, the trade soon flourished in Sicily, so that it was not long before it attracted the attention and envy of Italian cities, and soon Nomus, Amalfi, Genoa, and Venice followed the example set by Palermo, though without achieving similar success.

In 1523 the trade spread to France through the capture of Milan; in 1547 Francis I founded a silkworm establishment at Touraine, which was subsequently imitated in Avignon, Paris, Lyon, and other large cities.

It is not surprising that the first attempt to initiate England into the silk industry was made when a woman ruled, but Elizabeth failed. For some reason the silkworms would not breed here, though on the other hand the silk factories progressed with great rapidity in London, and when Antwerp was destroyed in 1585, fully one-third of the silk weavers migrated to England.

In the meanwhile silk breeding in France, under Henry IV, increased so rapidly that, because of it, she was considered the richest country in the world, and it was the nearness of such wealth which, in all probability, inspired James to follow the example set by the French king.

On 23rd of January, 1608, a licence was issued to William Stallenge to import mulberry seeds, and to set the same in any part of the realm.

Evidently Stallenge was merely acting on behalf of His Majesty, or else he was not particularly agreeable to carrying any part of the financial responsibility upon his own shoulders, for an examination of the King's exchequer reveals the fact that on the 24th of November of the same year James paid the sum of £100 to Stallenge and one other "by them dis-

18 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

bursed, for some quantity of trees, plants, and seeds, for the breeding and nourishing of silkworms."

In 1609 James's ambitious scheme began to reveal itself more fully ; on the 5th of December a payment of £935 was made to Stallenge for : " the charge of four acres taken in for His Majesty's use, near to his palace of Westminster, for the planting of mulberry trees, together with the charge of walling, bevelling and planting thereof with mulberry trees, etc. according to an estimate thereof, subscribed by the surveyors of His Majesty's works, and the said William Stallenge."

According to every authority who has, heretofore, made some attempt to outline the history of Buckingham Palace, the four acres thus reserved for His Majesty's use, were taken in from St. James's Park ; but this, possibly, is not so, for an ancient title-deed, still extant, reveals the existence, immediately opposite the silk farm, of a gate leading into the Park, from which it would appear that the land in question was some waste land outside, and not within, the boundaries of St. James's Park.

In due course the work went forward ; the space was walled round, the ground prepared, and from all parts of Europe thousands of mulberry trees were imported and planted, and this site very soon became known as the Mulberry Garden.

Like a true civil servant, Stallenge did not allow thoughts of economy to worry him ; if anything were necessary for the well-being of the Royal silkworms he purchased it. Consequently, it is scarcely surprising to read that in 1611 he put in a further bill of expenses, which was duly paid on the 15th May to : " William Stallenge, Esquire, the sum of £258. 2. 5. without account, impress, or other charges to be set upon him, his executors, administrators, or assigns for the same, or for any part thereof, for the charges of silk-worms committed to his care and keeping, for mulberry leaves, sweet wood, and other necessities for them, until the 25th March, 1611, last past——," etc.

From this it appears that the mulberry trees were not yet performing their natural functions ; otherwise with so many thousands planted, it is difficult to comprehend why it was necessary to purchase mulberry leaves !

This was not the only payment made that year, for on the 18th of July a request was put forward by Richard Lecavill, Groom of the Chamber, "for payment of his expenses, etc. whilst travelling about with his Majesty's silkworms the past three months wherever his Majesty went."

James must have been fond of his silkworms thus to have had them accompanying him wherever he journeyed, unless, perhaps, they were prize insects, or had been trained to perform !

It is sad to reflect that not even by 1613 were the silkworms declaring a dividend, moreover it would seem that they were still a charge upon the royal exchequer, for, on the 28th of April, a further entry appears on the pages of the exchequer denoting that £154 10s. 11d. was paid to Stallenge : "for monies by him disbursed in providing trees for His Majesty's mulberry gardens, and paying the labourers' wages and other particulars mentioned in his bill charges."

It will be seen, therefore, that beside whatever amount was paid out to Richard Lecavill, the exchequer had made grants to Stallenge of £1447 13s. 4d., but this does not by any means comprise the sum total of payments which James made for his silkworms ; they are just a few, chosen at random.

By this time it was evident that the Mulberry Garden was a failure, and even if James failed to lose interest in it, there is little doubt that in the public idea the Garden was just another burden on their already overtaxed shoulders.

Yet, had James possessed a little more concentration, a sharper, analytical sense, it is possible he might have succeeded, and the centre of the silk industry would not now be Lyons, but London ; and "art silk" an unknown quantity. James, not being sufficiently well versed in botany, made one mistake ; he knew silkworms fed on mulberry leaves,

but failed to ascertain that there were two species of mulberry trees—the white mulberry which is best fitted to feed silkworms, but is good for little else, and the black mulberry which, though less welcome to the caterpillar, is more valued by man, for it is the latter which supplies the luscious berry.

The result of James's carelessness is immediately apparent—the thousands upon thousands of trees which he caused to be planted in his Mulberry Garden, in the gardens of the great nobles, and in the open spaces of the Shires, solely and simply with a special view to insect nurture, inconveniently grew up and supplied—not the silk factories impatiently waiting for the raw material—but Covent Garden !

In the years that followed, the Mulberry Garden continued to be a constant drain upon the King's exchequer, but James did not live to see the seeds he had planted blossom finally into the fruits of success, for, in 1625, he passed beyond the cares and worries of sovereignty, and dying, was succeeded by his son, Charles I.

Concerning what had happened meanwhile, records relating to the Mulberry Garden are hazy ; research fails to deliver up information of how the silkworm industry was progressing, or of what was happening, but it seems fairly evident that a Stallenge was still carrying on despite the change of kings, and that Charles I was half-heartedly supporting the venture.

A Stallenge retained his hold on the Mulberry Garden for a few years, but it is obvious that he failed to attain any modicum of success. Toward 1628 Charles began to lose faith in the efficacy of Stallenge's treatment, so he looked around for another keeper of his Mulberry Garden.

His choice was that of Walter, Lord Aston, eldest son of Sir Edward Aston, of Texall, in Staffordshire, and the exchequer discloses the fact that on 4th July, 1628, a grant was made to Lord Aston, " of the keeping of his Majesty's mulberry garden at St. James's, and of the silkworms and houses thereunto appertaining, with the yearly fee of £60

during his life and that of his son and heir apparent, on surrender of Jasper Stallenge."

Riches to the rich!—Lord Aston was already a wealthy man, being considered one of the richest in England, his rentals alone bringing him in the more than comfortable income of £10,000 per annum.

While Aston was not by any means one of the King's favourites, among whom the notorious George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, reigned supreme, nevertheless both James and Charles must have had more than a mere liking for the provincial Cræsus, this not being the first time Aston had received recognition at the King's hands, for James at his coronation created him a Knight of the Bath, afterward bestowing what was then a new title, so that Aston was one of the first baronets of the United Kingdom.

En passant, it is interesting to note that Aston was to take over the Mulberry Garden on surrender of *Jasper* Stallenge, from which it seems that not only had James died, but William Stallenge likewise, and that the charge of the royal silkworms had been passed on to a relation ; a son, no doubt.

Stallenge delivered up his charge, Walter, Lord Aston then took control, endeavoured to humour the whims and fancies of the insects, and to encourage them to toil and spin like their friends and relations on the other side of the Channel, but, as will be seen, with no better results than his predecessor.

CHAPTER II

THE MULBERRY GARDEN (CONCLUDED)

LORD ASTON took control of the Mulberry Garden in 1628. In 1654 Evelyn, the diarist, wrote, under date of 10th May :

“ My Lady Gerrard treated us at Mulberry Garden, “ now the only place of refreshment about the town for “ persons of the best quality to be exceedingly cheated at ; “ Cromwell and his partisans having shut up and seized “ on Spring Garden, which, till now, had been the usual “ rendezvous for the ladies and gallants of this season.”

In 1654, therefore, the Mulberry Garden was no longer a beehive—or a silkworm nest—of industry, but a public garden, a place of recreation and pleasure.

What had happened in the meanwhile ? Alas ! not all the King's horses, nor all the King's men, can discover in the dusty volumes of the British Museum, in the ageing manuscripts of the Harleian Miscellany, or other collections, in the Issues of the Exchequer, or in the Domestic series of State Papers, the history of the Mulberry Garden between 1628 and 1654.

There are records in plenty of other gardens : Addison, Fielding, Goldsmith, and Johnson have passed on, for the knowledge and delight of the world, memoirs, reminiscences, and pictures of beautiful Ranelagh, and stately Vauxhall : there is little that is not known of these two resorts ; but Mulberry Garden is shrouded in mystery, is shielded by a fog which no antiquarian has yet been successful in dis-

solving. Even Stow and his editors, classic topographers of the Stuart Period and onward, may be consulted in vain.

There is no clue but one to the possible date of the cessation of the Mulberry Garden as a centre of the silkworm breeding, but that, fortunately, is significant enough to warrant the assumption that the Mulberry Garden became a pleasure resort in, or not much later than, the year 1635, for in that year Walter, Lord Aston was appointed Ambassador to Spain, a post he had previously occupied under James I. Is it so unlikely that toward 1635 one of two things happened? Either Charles definitely decided not to throw good money after bad in maintaining the Mulberry Garden, closed it up, and as a sop to Lord Aston granted him the Ambassadorship, or, on the contrary, in view of Lord Aston's having to go abroad, Charles came to the conclusion he might just as well close up the Garden, and write it off as a bad debt upon the royal exchequer.

On the other hand, a crudely executed plan, *circa* 1665, of the Grosvenor estate, which includes the Mulberry Garden, has the following description, anent a certain slaughterhouse :

" Sometime in tenure of George Murray, afterward in tenure of Shrington or Charrington, and in 1660 let, with Goring House to St. John Shaw on behalf of Mr. Daniel O'Neald (O'Neale), and by Mr. O'Neald now let, together with ye two kitchen gardens of Goring House, now made into one, and garden by . . . Mr. O'Neald . . . who employees ye house and ground in publique entertainments of this house and ground also by waste lying along ye way within ye prickis which ye Lord Goring enclosed out of Mr. (. . .) waste. . . ."

In view of the above it might be accepted that the transformation took place in 1660, when the Garden was rented by O'Neald, and run as a place of " publique entertainments," but it is not improbable that a previous tenant had rented

24 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

the Garden for a similar purpose, and failing to make a living out of it, had passed on the onus to O'Neald.

It is a great pity that no chance manuscript has yet come to light giving a clue to a more precise history of the Mulberry Garden, for, when examining the antiquities of Buckingham Palace, there is at once apparent a complication, and one—extraordinary fact—which has been overlooked by the surveyors of London.

Besant, for instance, in his "Survey of London," writes in the volume sub-titled "The Stuarts," that Buckingham Palace was built on the site of the Mulberry Garden. In "North of the Thames," another volume in the same series, he confirms this fact.

Noorthouck, in "The History of London," writes :

"At the west end of the park, fronting the end of the Mall, stands the fine house originally known by the name of Arlington house, but being purchased by the Duke of Buckingham . . . it was called Buckingham House till the year 1762 when his present majesty bought it."

Thornbury, writing in "Old and New London," agrees that Buckingham Palace occupies the site of what was the Mulberry Garden, and continues that :

"The public recreation-ground does not appear, however, to have lasted long for in the course of a few years we find standing upon the southern* portion of it a mansion known as Arlington House—originally called Goring House."

Pepys is able to confute these authenticities. In July 1660 he reports :

"Home and called my wife and took to Dr. Clodes to a great wedding of Nan Hartlibbe to Mynheer Rodes which was kept at *Goring House* with very great state, court and noble company."

* The writer would be rather inclined to say "northern portion."



GORING HOUSE, 1632.
From a contemporary print

On May 20th, 1668, he :

“ to the Mulberry Garden, where I never was before,”
etc.

Therefore Pepys went to the Mulberry Garden eight years after he went to Goring House, and yet Goring House was supposed to be built upon the site of the Mulberry Garden.

The truth of the matter is that Goring House must have occupied, as Thornbury agrees, a portion of the garden, but where Thornbury is wrong is in stating that the public recreation-ground did not last very long, for the Mulberry Garden must have continued very many years as a place of entertainment even after Goring occupied Goring House.

Whatever the truth may be concerning the actual date of the transition of the Mulberry Garden into a place of public entertainment, and the subsequent, or simultaneous, occupation of one part of it by Goring House, interest in the Garden itself is not lessened by the knowledge that, during the reign of the ill-starred King Charles I, the Mulberry Garden, as planted by James I, ceased to be a bankrupt silkworm farm, but instead, leaped picturesquely, if not into prominence, at least into history, as a pleasure garden.

In recording the sorrowful end of a royal speculation, the dissolution or disillusionment of an ambitious, yet not utterly impossible, dream, it is interesting to note that the scheme was not wholly missing a sequel even though it was so many years afterward, and all too slight, for in his diary for the year 1723, Thoresby records the fact that he saw at a Mr. Gale's : “ a sample of the satin lately made at Chelsea of *English silkworms*, for the Princess of Wales, which was very rich and beautiful.”

When the Mulberry Garden as the centre of a great industry ceased to be, in its place appeared the Mulberry Garden, a not unbeautiful resort for the gallants, and their ladies.

There have been many Gardens in the history of England,

the most famous of which were Ranelagh and Vauxhall. These two resorts occupy such a prominent place in history that they overshadow the lesser ones—the Cremorne Gardens, Spring Gardens, and the Mulberry Garden. Notwithstanding, Mulberry Garden should not be forgotten : in its brief, meteoric history many famous men and women paced its paths, or flirted within its leafy bowers, from the King downward, for Charles II did not disdain to partake of its pleasures, or its wines, any more than he neglected to sip from all other pleasures, or wines, known or invented.

As Evelyn has revealed, the closing of Spring Gardens, just across St. James's Park, by the puritanical Cromwell, compelled the gallants to frequent the Mulberry Garden instead, and it was probably this step on the part of the Protector which made the Garden popular. Doubtless, however, the thought of Cromwell and his heavy hand kept the Garden fairly sober and refined, which must have been far from the liking of the congenial and pleasure-loving people who still dared or cared to live in Westminster.

Still, bad times, like good things, sooner or later must come to an end, so while the Commonwealth, uncherished and unwanted, gradually faded away, Charles, the son of Charles I, planned to occupy the throne of England, and 1660 brought with it the Restoration, not only of the Monarchy, but also of unrestricted freedom to enjoy life to the full.

Cromwell was a wonderful man ; he was a wise ruler, and a masterly soldier, but he was sad company ; not by a long stretch of imagination could he be termed a harbinger of cheerfulness : rather was he a genius in the art of regulating the lives of the people, and it would be hard to say which sin in his opinion ranked second to that of recreation—innocent or otherwise. He was a veritable, and efficient, D.O.R.A. of the seventeenth century !

He shut the play houses, prohibited the playing of games on Sunday, closed the pleasure gardens (according to Besant, he closed and sold the Mulberry Garden : which coincides with the remarks on the title-deed already quoted), and

generally restricted the people so much that, before long, every church was a brawling place, every tavern was full of discontented men, merely for the lack of aught else to occupy their minds.

It needs little imagination to picture the relief of the citizens of London when the advent of Charles signified the return of their amusements, and the opportunity to enjoy them.

So great was the contrast of this newly regained liberty to the previous dull restrictions, that the people lost their sense of propriety, and like a pendulum, swung to the other extreme ; particularly was this the case wherever the Court was concerned.

The search for recreation became a task, the indulging in the unceasing whirl of social engagements and distractions a laborious toil. Excitement began early and ended late, and was constantly renewed with unflagging spirit. The daily routine of pleasure was, physically and mentally, a greater strain than a hard day's work ; the hours longer.

Mulberry Garden began to flourish : when the King went there it reached the zenith of its fame, though it is to be feared that Charles was far from being kingly during his visit, for he publicly violated his own order forbidding the drinking of healths, by indulging in a debauch of his own in the Garden.

Members of the Court, naturally, were not long in following the new mode set by His Majesty—where he had been, they, too, must follow—and the Garden became still more frequented by a Court and society, constantly in search of new distractions, though it must be concluded that the chief amusements to be found in the Garden consisted of eating, drinking, and loving—particularly the last-mentioned diversion.

The designer of the Garden, when it was transformed into a pleasure resort, evidently knew his business well : first of all he wisely foresaw that the gallants and beaux, delighted though they might be to sit side by side with their paramours beneath the leafy mulberry trees, or wander up and down its

numerous shady avenues, would not be attracted by such rustic simplicity unless adorned with frills and furbelows of a more sophisticated nature, so the houses wherein the royal silkworms had once lived their lives of ease and luxury were converted into restaurants at which good wine and excellent cooking might be obtained. Further, throughout the grounds themselves, cunningly concealed arbours were erected, and perhaps these, more than anything else within the Garden, were in demand, for in these arbours, securely hidden from prying eyes, were enacted many episodes of the heart.

If only the pages of history could more easily be turned back, many florid stories might be revealed of these arbours in the Mulberry Garden ; strange throbbing tales of beautiful country lassies into them lured, wooed, and won ; or more subtle accounts of assignations, of wives escaping their husbands' vigilance, of meetings with lovers, of hot, passionate kisses, tender embraces, given and returned.

In truth the Garden became a rare place for stolen meetings, and little wonder, for its environment breathed of romance in the days when romance was the breath of life to both men and women. In fact, so notorious did it become at length that Sir Charles Sedley, one of the most daring and frank dramatists of that period, made the Mulberry Garden the scene of one of his plays.

ESTRIDGE : " Well, Modish, I perceive we shall do no good on him, let's take him to the Mulberry-garden, and see what the ladies can do."*

WILDISH : " You shall excuse me, I have a small ramble of my own for an hour or two this afternoon ; and so your servant."

[*Exit.*]

MODISH : " 'Tis time we were going ; I warrant they have walk'd every foot of the garden twice over by this time ; they are mad to know, whether their friends in town have dealt faithfully with 'em of late, concerning the mode."

ESTRIDGE : " These country ladies, for the first month, take up their places in the Mulberry-garden, as early as a citizen's wife at a new play."

MODISH : " And for the most part are as easily discover'd, they have always something on, that is just left off by the better sort."

* " The Mulberry Garden " (Act I, Scene II).

WILDISH : " What is there store of game here, gentlemen ? " *

MODISH : " Troth, little or none, a few citizens that have brought their children out to air 'em and eat cheesecakes."

WILDISH : " I thought this place had been so full of beauties, that like a pack of hounds in a hare warren you could hunt one for another : what think you of an arbour and a bottle of rhenish ? "

ESTRIDGE : " Come, drink a glass round."

MODISH : " I can't get down a drop of this wine more without a frolick."

WILDISH : " Every man name the woman that has oblig'd him last, and drink all their healths in a brimmer."

MODISH : " Content ; begin, Estridge."

ESTRIDGE : " Olivia. Now Modish, name yours."

MODISH : " Victoria, Victoria : we must have your person too, Wildish."

WILDISH : " Mrs. Betty."

If Modish could have found himself in one of Etherege's plays, namely, *She Wou'd if She Cou'd*,† he would have had much less cause for complaint. For instance, the author has assembled his characters in the Mulberry Garden. (Act II, Scene I).

[COURTAL and FREEMAN are talking together.

[Enter ARIANA and GATTY with VIZARDS, and pass nimbly over the stage.

FREE. : " Ha—Ha—— How wantonly they trip it. There is Temptation enough in their very Gate, to stir up the Courage of an old Alderman : Pr'y thee let us follow 'em."

[They do so : exeunt off stage.

[Enter WOMEN again and cross the stage.

ARIA. : " Now if there should prove two Men of War that are Cruising here, to watch for Prizes."

GAT. : " Wou'd they had Courage enough to set upon us. I long to be engag'd."

ARIA. : " Look, look yonder, I protest they chase us."

GAT. : " Let us bear away then : if they be truly Valiant, they'll quickly make more Sail and overtake us."

[The WOMEN go out, and go about behind the Scenes to the other door.

FREE. : " 'S death, how fleet they are !—I'll follow directly, do thou turn down the Cross-walk and meet 'em."

[Enter the WOMEN, and after them COURTAL at the lower door, and FREEMAN at the upper on the contrary side.

* (Act IV, Scene I). † Acted at His Highness the Duke of York's Theatre.

SCENE II

LADY COCKWOOD'S HOUSE

[Enter ARIANA and GATTY.]

LADY COCKWOOD : " Your servant, cousins.—How have you spent the cool of the evening ? "

GAT. : " As the custom is, Madam, breathing the fresh air in the Park and Mulberry-Garden."

LADY COCKWOOD : " Without the Company of a relation, or some discreet body to justify your reputations to the world—you are young, and may be yet insensible of it, but this is a strange censorious age, I assure you."

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The Olivia whom Estridge toasted in Scene I of Act IV has, herself, in another part of the comedy, something to say concerning the Mulberry Garden. " 'Tis much better than a long walk at home," she blithely informs her friend, " for in my opinion, half a score of young men and fine ladies, well drest, are a greater ornament to a garden than a wilderness of sycamores, orange and lemon-trees ; and the rustling of silk petticoats better music than the purling of streams, chirping of birds, or any of our country entertainments ; and that I hope the place will afford us yet, as soon as the plays are done ; " sentiments, doubtless, echoed by most of the gay cavaliers of that period.

Evidently Modish and his friends must have been bad hunters, else they were unlucky in striking an evening when some other attraction had drawn the ladies to another part of the town.

This was not so the evening of Pepys' first visit to the Garden. Unfortunately he was more than disappointed, for he found it : " a very silly place, worse than Spring-Gardens, and but little company, and those of a rascally, whoring, roguing sort of people, only a wilderness, that is somewhat pretty, but rude. Did not stay to drink."

What more effective language of Sedley's, Pepys', and Etherege's could thus describe the Garden, and what words could speak louder of his disgust than the genial diarist's last, sapient observation ?

Nevertheless, though Pepys was not prepossessed with the Garden on his first visit, he went there again just three months later, this time stopping much longer. Promenading St. James's Park he met friends of his, Mr. and Mrs. Pierce, accompanied by sister, brother, and a little boy. Always hospitable, he took the whole family into the Mulberry Garden, and, having shown them around, the party proceeded to the refreshment tables. He records the fact that he spent the munificent sum of eighteen shillings that day in the Garden.

Eight months later he again went there. On April 5th, 1669, he and Mr. Sheres went to Unthanes, where, leaving his wife accompanied by Betty Turner in the Pepys' coach, the two men casually deserted the unfortunate ladies, and proceeded to the Mulberry Garden. Here Mr. Sheres introduced Pepys to a new dish called Spanish Olio, a mixed dish of meat and vegetables, which was prepared especially for them by one of the cooks attached to the restaurant.

Pepys found this dish : " a very noble dish, such as I never saw better, nor any more of." Nor was this the only tit-bit they sampled that day, for : " we left other good things that would keep till night, for a collation, and with much content took coach again. . . . Meeting The. Turner, Talbot, Bate-lier and his sister in a coach, we anon took them with us to the Mulberry Garden, and there after a walk, to supper upon what was left at noon, and very good . . . and we mighty merry."

Indeed, the party would have been quite out of vogue had they been anything else but merry. The Mulberry Garden was a resort of pleasure, and in the days of Charles II, when a dissolute Court was setting anything but a fine, or wise, example to a nation reacting from Cromwell's puritanism, the people did not take their pleasures sadly, as to-day seems to be the general consensus of opinion throughout the world of how the Briton accepts the lighter side of life for which he strives so manfully.

Another contemporary dramatist, Wycherly, has likewise

32 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

mentioned the Garden in one of his plays, while, in *The Humourists*, Shadwell makes two of his puppets speak as follows :

FRISKE : " Once, Madam ! Why does not your Ladyship frequent the Mulberry-Garden oft'ner ? I vow we had the pleasantest divertisement there last night."

STRIKES : " Ay, I was there, and the Garden was very full, Madam, of gentlemen and ladies, that made love together till twelve o'clock at night."

'That the said ladies* and gentlemen finished then was only due to the fact that the Garden shut at midnight !

Not always were the arbours devoted to love intrigues, for in them, too, gambling oft took place ; " chickens " from the provinces were plucked ; aye, and my Lords—and Ladies—too, were sometimes cheated by light-fingered gentry, and thus paid the penalty for playing hazard, cross or pile, picquet, ombre, Angel-Beast, gleck, and other games, in the hope of making big profits and quick returns from innocent strangers.

Among other famous people who are known to have frequented the Mulberry Garden was the immortal Dryden : by a strange coincidence the protégé of the Duke of Buckingham ; or the Marquis of Normanby as he then was ; the man who, years later, was to occupy the complete site of the Mulberry Garden with Buckingham House.

" I remember plain John Dryden (before he paid his court with success to the great)," says a writer in the " Gentleman's Magazine " for 1745, " in one uniform clothing of Norwich druggot. I have eat tarts with him and Madame Reeve* at the Mulberry Garden, when our author advanced to a sword and chadreuse wig."

This writer is not the only one who was acquainted with Dryden's proclivity for fruit tarts. Mathias writes :

" Nor he, whose essence, wit and taste approved,
Forget the mulberry tarts that Dryden loved."

* An actress of the famous Killigrow Company.



CHARLES I

From a painting by A. Van Dyke.

There is, therefore, no doubt that for some years after the Restoration, the Mulberry Garden continued to be a very fashionable resort, despite—or because of—its lack of respectability, and the peculiar company which was to be found there late of an evening. Nevertheless, as time passed, its popularity began to wane : for what reason it is difficult to suggest, possibly because it became the whim of the fashion leaders to go elsewhere, possibly because the cavaliers became too bold, even for those days.

Finally it closed ; and in 1675, the Mulberry Garden was granted by Charles II to Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington.

CHAPTER III

GORING HOUSE

IT has already been seen that the house which occupied part of the Mulberry Garden site was known as Goring House, while the mystery surrounding the erection of Goring House has also been mentioned.

In the meantime it is interesting to discover how it was that the late silkworm farm, the property of the King, became a freehold mansion, owned by George Goring, Earl of Norwich.

Strangely enough, during the reign of Charles II, there were two George Gorings, both of whom were earls of Norwich, but who were not in any way related. The Goring of Goring House was born *circa* 1583, the son of George Goring of Hurstpierpoint, and Anne, daughter of Henry Denny, of Waltham.

Goring began life as one of the gentlemen pensioners of Queen Elizabeth. He was knighted on 7th May, 1608, and in 1610 he became one of the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber of Henry, Prince of Wales.

In due course Goring's gifts as a courtier and wit attracted the favour of James I, and he became somewhat of a favourite at Court, and had a hand in negotiating the marriage of Charles I to Henrietta Maria, after which he became Vice-Chamberlain, then later, Master of the House to the Queen.

For these services he was raised to the Peerage in 1628 and became known as Baron Goring. During the next few years his popularity continued to increase: he was granted many enviable appointments, some of which helped consider-

ably toward making up the total of his revenue to £9,000 per annum.

Fortune smiled upon him for many years, but in 1640 his circumstances began to alter ; clouds began to obscure the face of his particular sun, and when the Long Parliament, which was beginning to interfere more in the affairs of the King than that monarch appreciated, abolished the tobacco monopoly, it also was responsible for putting a semicolon to Goring's prosperity, in fact it might be said that the particular punctuation mark was of no more value than a comma, for according to the " Dictionary of National Biography," Goring's income in 1641 was estimated at £26,000 a year.

Whatever Goring's errors of omission and commission—and perhaps his income, at any rate, was not unconnected with the latter—he was a royalist at heart. He spent freely on the King's behalf, and in recalling his younger son from Paris, to enter the King's army, he wrote to his wife a classical letter, of which the following excerpt is perhaps the most widely known : " Had I millions of crowns or scores of sons, the King and his cause should have them all."

This brings his life story to the period when he took over the Mulberry Garden from Walter, Lord Aston, when, it must be assumed, he either built a house upon one corner of it, or else converted existing buildings to his own needs.

It has already been suggested that Charles closed the silk-worm farm in 1635, when Lord Aston was created English Ambassador to Spain ; but actually it is uncertain who was in charge of the farm after 1635, or when Goring purchased the rights of the Garden—Wheatley suggests the transfer was previous to 1632.

On the other hand, in 1641, Charles I had a petition from Walter, Lord Aston as follows :

" The late Lord Aston had the custody of the Mulberry Garden by patent from your Majesty, with the fee of 100 marks per annum, for two lives. The now Lord Aston having sold his interest therein to Lord Goring,

36 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

and surrendered thereupon to your Majesty, Lord Goring is to pay £400 for the purchase to your Majesty which Lord Aston is to allow out of the purchase money."

It will be observed that Goring bought his interests from the "now Lord Aston," thus proving that the Garden was not sold until after the death of Lord Aston, which was in 1639, but, on the other hand, a study of the Crace collection of London maps, reveals the fact that Goring House was existent in 1640.

In February 1642, Goring accompanied the Queen to Holland, assisted her to raise money for the King's service, followed her back to England in the next spring, and took part in an unsuccessful attack on Leeds in April 1643. Toward the end of 1643 Goring was sent as ambassador to France to negotiate for a French alliance, and received from Mazarin promises of aid both in arms and money, the text of which he promptly forwarded to his royal master, but unfortunately, the letter in which he announced his success was intercepted by Parliament, and he was promptly impeached for high treason. Charles rewarded Goring's zeal by raising him to the title of Earl of Norwich (28th November, 1644), which had lately become extinct by the death of his uncle, Edward Denny.

Goring played a splendid rôle in the second civil war, being proclaimed general, on the 30th of May, during a rendezvous on Barham Down. Clarendon maintains it was from the Earl of Holland that Goring received a commission to command the Kentish forces, but according to another account the commissioners, weary of disputing over the choice of a general, offered the command to Goring, who happened accidentally to be passing through their quarters. Goring's command was not a success: Clarendon attributes the failure of the rising, partly, to the defects of his leadership and lack of experience. "The earl was a man fitter to have drawn such a body together by his frolic and pleasant humour, which reconciled people of all constitutions wonderfully to

him, than to form and conduct them towards any enterprise." Carter, who acted as quartermaster-general under Goring, admits his inexperience, but praises his prudence, his courage, and his indefatigable energy, and throughout defends his conduct.

The Kentish levies were defeated by Fairfax at Maidstone on the 1st of June, after which Goring marched on London, anticipating that the royalists of Surrey, and of the city, would join him, but the city made no movement, and the common council forwarded his unopened letters to Parliament.

On finding himself unsupported, Goring crossed over into Essex to discover what preparations had been made by the cavaliers of that county, leaving his forces encamped in Greenwich Park until his return, but without waiting for orders they followed him, and Goring, finding very little support from the men of Essex, endeavoured to hold out in Colchester until help came.

In August, starvation threatened to oblige the garrison to surrender, unless a desperate expedient relieved them, but when it was suggested to attempt a general sally, the common soldiers suspected their officers of an intention to escape and desert them, and, to allay this suspicion, Goring and the other leaders solemnly promised to deliver themselves up as prisoners, and submit to the mercy of their enemies, if thereby they could purchase the liberty of their followers. This they were able to effect, and Goring was sent a prisoner to Windsor Castle; he had been voted a rebel on the previous 5th of June, so it was decided he should be impeached.

Goring vainly pleaded his right to a trial by his peers, and the promise of Fairfax that his life should be saved—a promise which Fairfax carefully explained to him did not guarantee him from punishment by the civil power. On the 10th of November the House of Commons voted that Goring should be banished, but on the 13th of December the independents, having regained the ascendancy, rescinded this vote, and on the 2nd of February, 1649, an ordinance was

38 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

passed constituting a High Court of Justice for the trial of Goring and other prominent offenders.

He was sentenced to death by the Court on the 6th of March, but two days later the Commons thought fit to respite his execution, and in the division on Goring's case, the numbers for and against being equal, the Speaker's casting vote turned the scale in favour of mercy. According to Whitelocke and Clarendon, Lenthall gave as a reason for his vote the favours he had formerly received from Goring. A contemporary letter, however, attributes his escape to the intervention of the Spanish and Dutch ambassadors.

As a matter of fact there is no reason to doubt the truth of Lenthall's statement when the fact is revealed that, in his will, Lenthall left : " £100 of lawful money to the Right Hon. the Earle of Norwiche, if he be living at my decease, but if he dye before me, then my will and meaning is, that the same sume of £100 be paid to the Lord Goring, his eldest soun, for he expressed a great willingnesse to my assistance in my sore and great trouble."

On the 7th of May, 1649, Goring, on his petition to the House of Commons, was pardoned as to his life, and was set at liberty. Shortly afterward he rejoined Charles II on the Continent, and remained in exile during the rest of the interregnum. In the spring of 1652 he was employed by Charles to negotiate with the Duke of Lorraine for the relief of Ireland, and to propose a marriage between the Duke of York and a daughter of the Duke of Lorraine. His negotiations met with little success : " As he is a very honest worthy person," wrote Hyde to Nicholas, " so he is not for business, nor will ever submit to half those straits and necessities which all men must do who desire to serve the king." Nicholas himself characterizes Goring, in 1651, as, " the ablest and faithfullest person that can be employed now by the king to do him real service in France."

During the latter part of the exile of Charles II, Goring does not seem to have been employed, no doubt on account of his advanced age. He was, however, one of the chief

agents in the attempt to use Sexby and the Levellers in the King's service, and the arrest of Manning, the spy, was due to his suggestion.

Meanwhile, in England, there seems little doubt but that the man who had saved his life, was occupying his house. Once again, in the matter of dates, the necessary data to determine them are missing, but it is generally supposed that, between the years 1632 and 1656, Speaker Lenthall lived in Goring House. It is highly improbable that Goring resided anywhere but in his own house after 1640, when an unsympathetic Long Parliament abolished the tobacco monopoly, and curtailed his financial resources, and as Cromwell sequestered the property, as will be seen subsequently, it is not unlikely that it was during the years that Goring was exiled on the Continent that Lenthall had the use of Goring House.

In his own way Lenthall is not a less interesting study than the dashing, jovial Goring, but in a far different and more sombre light. He commenced his career by entering the legal profession, so often the stepping-stone to politics, and was called to the Bar in 1616. He became a bencher in 1633, and was elected reader in 1638.

His success was rapid, and he amassed "a plentiful fortune in land and ready money to a good sum." Later he turned his attention to law and politics, was in several Parliaments, and in particular the celebrated Long Parliament, on the opening of which he was unanimously elected Speaker. Clarendon describes him as : "a lawyer of good practice, and no ill affections, but a very weak man, and unequal to such a task," also "of a very narrow and timorous nature."

Such a relentless criticism was unfair : Lenthall was weak, but there were many times when he displayed a strength of character peculiarly his own ; a case in point being the occasion when, on the 4th January, 1642, Charles entered the House with the intention of arresting five members.

The King borrowed the Speaker's chair, gazed keenly around, and failing to recognize the members in question,

demanding of Lenthall whether he saw any of them present. The Speaker fell on his knees, and replied : " May it please your Majesty, I have neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, in this place, but as the House is pleased to direct me whose servant I am here ; and humbly beg your Majesty's pardon that I cannot give any other answer than this to what your Majesty is pleased to demand of me," which answer gave the House great satisfaction.

In 1653, when Cromwell violently dissolved the Long Parliament, Lenthall, in spite of the threats of the iron dictator, refused to vacate his chair until he was compelled.

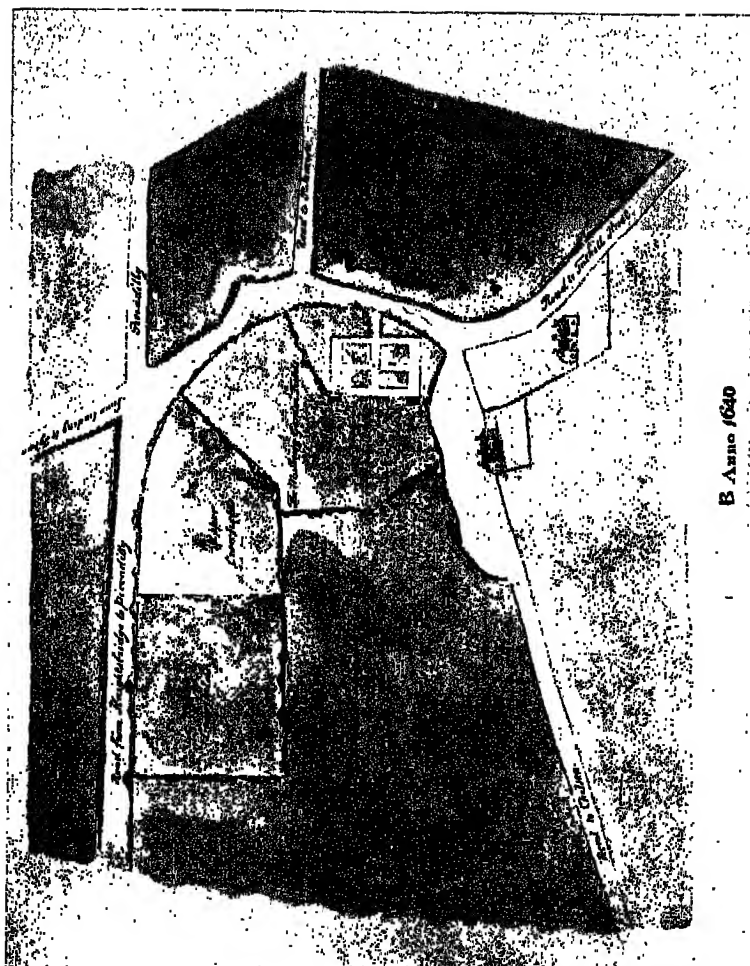
As Speaker, Lenthall had a long, arduous, and exhaustive period ; he suffered financially when his estates, which were in the King's quarters, were seized, and again in 1644, when his house at Besselsleigh was rendered untenable by opposing forces. At different times he was harassed by the King, by parliament, and by mobs.

His was scarcely a happy career : he had to contend with more difficulties and more trials perhaps than any other Speaker : a weak man maybe, but not so weak that he could not confess his own faults : " I make this candid confession, that it was my own baseness, cowardice, and unworthy fear to submit my life and estate to the mercy of those men that murdered the king, that hurried me on against my own conscience to act with them, yet then I thought that I might do some good, and hinder some ill."

In 1653 Lenthall lost the Speakership for some years, but in 1659, on the fall of Richard Cromwell, he was persuaded to return to his seat, and he was still Speaker when Monck came to London and made the Restoration certain.

When the Convention Parliament was summoned Lenthall was not elected to Parliament, moreover he was included among the twenty persons whom the House of Commons resolved, on 11th June, 1660, should be excepted for the act of indemnity for penalties not extending to life.

Affairs might have gone badly for Lenthall then, but, *quid pro quo*, a strong influence was exerted in his favour by his



PLAN OF THE GORING ESTATE, 1640
From the Grace Collection.

old friend, the Earl of Norwich, who had returned to England with the King. The penalty was modified, and soon afterward, Lenthall retired to Burford, dying there two years later, on the 3rd September, 1662.

It has been seen that Goring returned to England with King Charles II ; an ardent royalist, generous, fearless, a more loyal spirit than his has not, nor will not, appear for many pages of this history. To his King he gave everything he possessed : receiving nothing, claiming nothing ; so long as his Monarch was throneless, content merely to serve. Nevertheless, when the King came into his own again, if he did not ask for reward, he did not consider it unseemly to suggest that His Majesty might be good enough to return to him his own rightful possessions, for though he had been appointed Captain of the King's Guard, and had taken his place on the Privy Council, he regained neither his lucrative office as farmer of the tobacco customs, nor much satisfaction for his losses in the King's service.

In 1660, therefore, he was compelled to plead for the return of the Mulberry Garden, granted to him by Charles I, sequestered and sold by Cromwell, and restored to Charles II. Consequently, on the 10th November, Lord-Treasurer Southampton wrote to the Attorney-General :

“ Would pass the grant of the Mulberry Garden to the Earl of Norwich, as required but it is a fee farm, is anxious for no such grant to pass except by lease or for lives ; suggests that it should be for years even if exceeding the 31 limited by the King, the fees to be proportioned to the number of years.”

Because there was some complication in the returning of this land to Goring, nothing happened for a year or so ; consequently Goring never lived to enjoy the fruits of his years of service on behalf of the King, for on the 6th of January, 1662, he died at Brentford, aged about eighty years : leaving out of his once vast estate the small sum of £450 a year to his heir.

He left two sons, George and Charles, the second of whom succeeded to the title of the Earl of Norwich. Norwich did not waste much time in taking up the cudgels which his father, by death alone, had been forced to lay down. He petitioned the King for the grant of the Mulberry house and Garden which had been granted to the late Earl in the name of George Lee, but stopped on the petition of one Chip.

This Chip (or Chipp) entered the affair as a distinct complication, for he claimed, and was able to prove the fact by a former report which he lodged in December 1660—in other words a month after Goring had put in his plea—that he (Chip) had purchased the Mulberry house from Ant. Deane, who had bought it from the trustees for sale of Crown lands—evidently Cromwell's doing! Moreover, this Chip claimed that the late Earl held it by grant from the late King, not executed on account of the times.

In the meantime Charles had come to the conclusion that with all this argument going on he might just as well retain the land himself, so he therefore issued a statement to this effect, agreeing, however, to recompense either the Earl or Mr. Chipp, neither of whom claimed longer than Lord Aston's life—that is to say, after the death of the son of Walter, Lord Aston: it will be recollected that Aston was granted the Garden for two lives.

This was far from being satisfactory to Norwich, who claimed that His Majesty had promised to make good his father's grant. This proved awkward to Charles, who did not like to think he was breaking his word. On the other hand the Lord Chancellor Clarendon suggested to the King that Norwich's claim concerning His Majesty's promise was merely a pretence put forward by Goring to force the King's hand.

Norwich countered this move by having one George Lee, of the Temple, send to Williamson, secretary to Henry Bennet, Secretary to the King, a true account of the state of the case in relation to the Mulberry Garden which: "will give light on what the Lord Chancellor's report leaves

dark." This true account Secretary Bennet put before the King.

Thus Bennet, subsequently Earl of Arlington, enters the story, and it is a very moot point as to whether Bennet was not behind Norwich in all this business, for eventually Norwich received the grant of the Mulberry Garden—but less than two years later Bennet was living in Goring House.

CHAPTER IV

GORING HOUSE (CONTINUED)

UP to this point the people who have trodden the shaded paths, drunk Rhenish wine, and eaten Spanish Olio in the restaurant, or have surreptitiously kissed other men's wives in the leafy arbours of the Mulberry Garden ; the man who built and lived in Goring House, then died before he could recover it from an ungrateful King, and Speaker Lenthall who occupied it during his absence, have all been vague and shadowy, unsubstantial, and impersonal, for they have crossed the stage almost as intransitory actors, forerunners merely of the greater men to follow their footsteps : their part the prologue.

Once Henry Bennet occupied Goring House its character changed entirely. As the house of Secretary Bennet it jumped into the public eye, it became the centre of politics : balls, dinners, and receptions were held there, contemporary biographers, historians, and diarists were welcome guests, topographers and architectural critics paid attention to it, royalty graced it with their presence.

No more is its history obscure, no longer is there the necessity to flounder in a bewildering darkness seeking essential facts, hidden all too thoroughly from later generations. Henceforward its story is clear and voluminous. Hundreds of eyes were directed toward Goring House.

Henry Bennet was born at Harlington, Middlesex, in 1618, the second son of Sir John Bennet, Doctor of Laws, and Dorothy Crofts, and grandson of Sir John Bennet, the ecclesiastic and civilian. He went to school at Westminster, from where he

was sent to Christ Church, and there gained a reputation for scholarship, particularly for skill in English verse. He was educated for the Church, and would have been "parson of Harlington," which would have entitled him to the munificent stipend of £40 per annum, but a future of theology failed to create any enthusiasm within him. He did not take Orders : instead he gave them by entering Lord Digby's employ, when he was sent on various messages from the Queen to Ormond in Ireland.

He joined the royal forces as a volunteer, and fought in the skirmish of Andover, where he received a sabre-cut over his nose which bit deeply into the bone, and left a well-defined scar which he carried for the rest of his life, and which was a constant source of amusement to his political enemies, later on. During the civil war he left England, travelling in France, and afterward to Italy. Upon the death of the King he returned to France, where he joined the Court of the exiled James, and upon the earnest recommendation of Charles, to whom his "pleasant and agreeable humour" had made him acceptable, became the Princes' secretary in 1654.

During their residence in Flanders Arlington was entirely in the confidence of the royal family, and in 1658 was sent as Charles's agent to Madrid, showing considerable address, especially at the Treaty of Fuentarabia, where he gained both his intimate knowledge of foreign affairs and a formality of manner which was deservedly a subject of ridicule among his friends and acquaintances. It might also be mentioned that he was as equally punctilious in his correspondence, revealing a polished nicety in his phraseology.

He remained at Madrid until some time after the Restoration. The delay in his return was due, it is said, though North denies it, to his fear of Lord Colepepper, who, having seen Bennet in a Catholic church with Charles, had threatened that his head or Bennet's should fly for it. When he did return, after Colepepper's death, it was without the customary letters of revocation, and even without the knowledge of the Secretaries of State.

This abrupt informality did not prevent his being received agreeably by Charles who was more than pleased to welcome him back to Court again, and, once established there, Bennet continued to find favour in the King's eyes. Clarendon was commanded to use his influence to find a seat for Bennet in the Cavalier Parliament, and early in June 1661 he was chosen as member for Callington in Cornwall. Commenting on the fact the Chancellor declared: "he knew no more of the constitution and laws of England than he did of China," which rather serves to prove that Members of Parliament were no less ignorant of their duties than they are to-day.

It was not long afterward when Charles offered Bennet the Privy Purse. This served to whet his appetite for still more honours. Consequently in January 1662 Sir Henry applied to the King to be appointed ambassador, and persuaded the Earl of Bristol and Lady Castlemaine to support him.

Charles was on the point of consenting when the news reached the ears of the French King, Louis XIV, who, not desiring to see as an ambassador one so prejudiced against French interests in general, whereupon pulled certain strings, and as a result Bennet failed to secure the coveted post, it being offered instead to one Lord Holles.

This proved but a temporary set-back for this ambitious man, for on the 15th October, 1662, he was sworn Secretary of State in the stead of Sir Edward Nicholas, but whether, as the inimitable Pepys suggests, with Sir Edward's consent or not is uncertain. The same diarist also discloses the fact that, even in those early days, none in Court had more the King's ear then "than Sir Charles Berkeley, Sir H. Bennet, and my Lady Castlemaine, whose interest is now as great as ever."

This, briefly, was the story of Bennet's run to fame up to 1662, when he was instrumental in securing the return of Goring House and Mulberry Garden to the Earl of Norwich, from whom he bought the property.

The first person to mention the fact is John Evelyn, who

had an affection for Bennet and his family which is constantly revealing itself throughout his Diary, and who did not hesitate to paint his character in colours which are as magnificently lusted as they are palpably synthetic. Evelyn, for instance, on the 29th March, 1665, "went to Goring House, now Mr. Secretary Bennet's, ill-built, but the place capable of being made a pretty villa."

Evelyn, in this instance, was probably rather grudging in his praise, for while Bennet could scarcely be held responsible for the artistry or otherwise of the actual building, undoubtedly he determined to leave no stone overturned in his efforts to make his home extraordinarily magnificent.

It was not difficult for him to do this, for country quiet still reigned in the neighbourhood; open fields stretched away on either side, and in front lay the royal pleasure-ground, St. James's Park. From the very first Bennet lavished immense sums in its improvement until it was a treasure-house of beautiful things. Here he practised the fine art of entertaining which he understood and loved better than any man in England, and in which a little later, Lady Arlington, happily, proved no less gifted than himself. Anyone who, by any title, could claim the notice of polite society was made welcome at Goring House. Foreigners found the Secretary's hospitality particularly pleasant by reason of his easy command of tongues.

The old French exile Saint-Evremond was a frequent guest, and when he went to Holland in 1668, did not forget to make graceful acknowledgment of the pleasures he had enjoyed under that roof. So intense was his yearning, he wrote plaintively, for the gay company that gathered at Arlington's table, that he had been impelled to read Livy more than six times to reconcile himself to the spirit of republics.

In the meanwhile Bennet was rapidly cleaving his way forward as a man of power with a forcefulness which admitted of no opposition. He was relentless in his determination, immoral in his means.

Though there is no record that he, himself, was inclined to sensual pursuits, he did not hesitate to make use of women. He made a study of his King with the one object of swaying Charles to favour and advance him to higher honours, and because of his knowledge of the fine degrees of His Majesty's temper, his supreme courtier's arts, and his readiness to serve and encourage Charles in his dissolute habits, gradually he began to acquire the power for which he craved.

Very soon he had the King's ear indeed ! Before long he had the unenviable honour of sharing, with his intimate friend, Sir Charles Berkeley, the management of the royal mistresses, which position, where Charles II was concerned, represented incontestable supremacy !

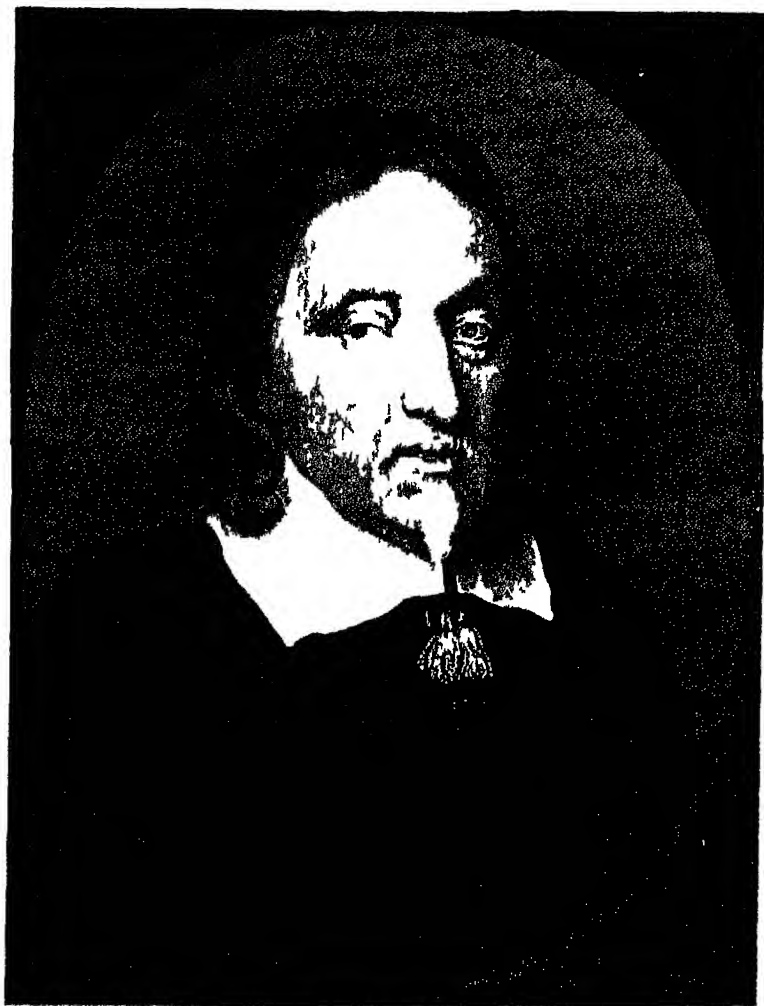
By this time he had successfully created many rivals and more enemies, chief among whom was the worst rake of history, George Villiers, 2nd Duke of Buckingham, evil son of an evil father.

Buckingham was a man after Charles' own heart : the conquest of women was the alpha and omega of his life. If the King was dissolute, his courtier was profligate, if Charles loved several women and was faithful to some, Buckingham seduced many more, and was constant to none.

As the 1st Duke of Buckingham had become the inseparable companion to the 1st Charles, so now the 2nd Duke of Buckingham became favourite of the 2nd Charles.

It was not easy for Bennet to counter such rivalry, for where Villiers was handsome he was plain, where Villiers was witty and fascinating he was heavy and pompous, where the Duke was to the King, a man of pleasure dabbling in politics, he was an automaton of politics pandering to the King's pleasure.

Opponents and enemies as they were, each struggling for the mastery over the other, there were many times when they joined forces to oust a mutual rival, and then woe to the puny David who vainly struggled against such a joint Goliath of cunning, intrigue, and unscrupulousness. In such a way Clarendon eventually fell. Powerful as he was he could not



WILLIAM LENTHAL
From a drawing by G P Harding

withstand the triple alliance of Bennet, Buckingham, and Bristol.

Before that happened, however, the subtle fight between Bennet and Buckingham raged fiercely, with the odds in favour of the Duke, but notwithstanding, Bennet gaining a slight advantage, for in 1663 he was made a baron by the title of Lord Arlington.

It was in the November of that same year that a certain Miss Stewart entered the limelight, and became a prize for which the two politicians battled, one which represented nothing more than possible influence with the King.

About this time the attachment which Charles displayed toward Miss Stewart was so marked, that it was easily perceivable that, were she possessed of the necessary art, she might easily become a dictator of his conduct as she was a mistress of his heart, which was an excellent opportunity for one experienced enough to control her for his own selfish ends.

Buckingham was the first to enter the lists, and with the object of governing her in order to ingratiate himself with the King, he paid an energetic and fascinating court to her, though, as Count Grammont naively expresses himself: "God knows what a governor he would have been, and what a head he was possessed of, to guide another."

Doubtless he considered her easy prey: in the first case she was but a girl of twelve or thirteen years of age, and correspondingly childish in her behaviour. She had an insatiable taste for frivolous amusements, such as building card-castles, playing blind-man's buff, and other similar recreations in which young children were expected to indulge, all unconscious of the intrigue into which she was being inexorably drawn.

It did not take her long to discover that not one of the courtiers who surrounded her could build such fine towers of cards as Buckingham; nor were there many so handsome, or so suggestive of scandal, which made him all the more interesting in her eyes. Moreover, he had an agreeable voice, and could make up songs and invent old women's stories;

with all of which she was delighted, having a passion for music and singing.

Finally, Buckingham possessed another accomplishment which never failed to keep Miss Stewart amused : that of turning into ridicule whatever was ridiculous in other people, for he was a natural mimic, as Arlington knew to his cost. It is not surprising that Buckingham succeeded in making himself so agreeable and necessary to her that she became accustomed to sending all over town if she wanted him when he was not dancing attendance on the King in her apartments.

Nevertheless, in Miss Stewart, Buckingham more than met his match, for directly he opened his attack proper, he met with such a serious rebuke that he abandoned, without further parley, and for all time, the intentions he had concerning her, not, however, as Grammont points out, without achieving a small victory, for : " the familiarity she had procured him with the King opened the way to those favours to which he was afterward advanced."

Arlington was not slow in taking up the project which Buckingham had abandoned. Having attuned himself for an interview with Miss Stewart by providing himself with many fine maxims, and a store of historical anecdotes, he called upon her in order to display his great virtues, " and at the same time to offer her his most humble services and best advice, to assist her in conducting herself in the situation to which it had pleased God and her virtue, to raise her."

It was unfortunate for Arlington that his was the character of which Buckingham had, in the past, made most mock, and now, as he began his rhetoric in the usual grandiloquent style, Miss Stewart suddenly remembered his rival's mimicry ; all the postures and contortions which the Duke had exaggerated, and yet which were, in essence, so true ; and she had no difficulty in recognizing the original of Buckingham's caricature.

She struggled to contain her laughter, but the more she did so, the more difficult the task became, until not even her sense of decorum could restrain her mirth any longer, and

before Arlington had thoroughly warmed up to his task, she suddenly burst out into a paroxysm of laughter, as violent as it was unexpected.

Grammont, who tells this story, and who never liked Arlington, probably because the Secretary of State was under Spanish influence, says that : " the minister was enraged and his pride became his pest, and his punctilious behaviour merited all the ridicule which could be attached to it : he quitted her abruptly, with all the free advice he had prepared for her, and was almost tempted to carry it to Lady Castlemaine, and to unite himself with her interests, or immediately to quit the Court party, and declaim freely in Parliament against the grievances of the state, and particularly to propose an act to forbid the keeping of mistresses, but his prudence conquered his resentment, and thinking only how to enjoy the pleasure of blessings of fortune he sent to Holland for a wife."

This lady was Isabella De Brederode, and her grandfather was the illegitimate son of Prince Henry Frederick of Orange. She was a fit mate for Arlington, "good-natured and obliging, and more than complaisant to fit in with his schemes, his lust for power. She was incalculably extravagant, fond of luxurious living and sumptuous surroundings." Arlington himself had no expensive vice but building, and to have all things rich, polite, and princely. This craving on the part of both of them kept him incessantly in debt, even during the time when he was procuring immense wealth by reason of his political appointments.

Meanwhile Arlington, after he had recovered from his first rebuff, sank his pride, and continued to cultivate the friendship of Miss Stewart, who on her part must have overcome her first prejudices toward him, for, according to Monsieur Jusserrard, who was the French Ambassador at that time, at least once : " . . . His Brittanic Majesty supped yesterday with Mlle. Stewart at Milord Arlington's who had his mistress with him. A Madame Scrope she is, first Lady of the Chamber to the Queen, and a woman not to content herself with a mere Secretary of State."

Eventually, Arlington was no more successful than Buckingham had been in influencing Miss Stewart, for whether she became the King's mistress or not, it was not long afterward that she married the Duke of Richmond, and for a time drifted away from Charles, who sought elsewhere for consolation.

During her intimacy with Charles she was commonly believed to have remained virtuous, and that she was even granted the benefit of the doubt in those days, when women's reputations were torn to shreds for no other reason than to gratify the whims of an idle, dissolute Court, surely presupposes that this child acted no differently than one of such tender years should have done. It is significant, however, that when her engagement to Richmond was announced she received, from the King, a pension of £700 a year, and jewellery to the value of £6,000.

Even if historians cannot prove her claim to everlasting fame as the one woman to resist the fascinations of Charles II, at least she has achieved undying renown in another way, for she was the model for the unchangeable Britannia which appears on the copper coinage of England, and thus has established a more intimate contact with her countrypeople than any other person in history !

By this time Arlington was a man of middle age, and of a stately, ministerial presence. During his sojourn, as Ambassador in Spain, he had cultivated the dignity of a grandee, not unwisely, perhaps, for it well became his tall, and rather sparse figure, though it verged on the exotic. In dress he was inclined to foppishness, the result of much attention and expenditure.

His features were regular, and not unpleasing, but the general effect was spoiled by his prominent eyes which were somewhat too pale to be impressive, while his chin was heavy, and to cover the marks of the wound which disfigured his nose, he invariably wore a strip of black court-plaster ; at which Grammont cannot resist a dig : " Scars on the face," he writes in his " Memoirs," " commonly give a man a

certain fierce and martial air which sets him off to advantage, but it was quite the contrary with him, and the remarkable plaster so well suited his mysterious looks, that it seemed an addition to his gravity and self-sufficiency."

It is hard on Arlington that an honourable scar should have been the source of such contumely, and his enemy, Buckingham, who himself is not unknown as a poet, could be trusted to seize upon it as a source of caricature. This, for instance, is how His Grace, the 2nd Duke of Buckingham, describes Arlington :

" First draw an arrant Fop, from top to toe,
Whose very looks at first dash shew him so,
Give him a mean proud garb, a dapper pace,
A pert dull grin, a black patch cross his face,
Two goggle eyes, so clear, though very dead,
That one may see, through them, quite through his head ;
Let every nod of his and subtle wink
Declare the fool would talk, but cannot think.
Let him all other fools so far surpass
That fools themselves point to him for an ass."

In open politics Arlington appears never to have addressed the House, though John Sheffield—who is to feature in later chapters of this history—says of him : " that none spoke better when obliged, and from being so silent, was believed to be a man of much smaller parts than was really the case ; " but he is mentioned as serving on committees. Burnet says his parts were " solid, but not quick," and Carte speaks of him as very " fit for business, but a *fourbe* in politics." De Grammont declares that : " Arlington, à l'abri de cette contenance composée, d'une grande avidité pour le travail, et d'une impénétrable stupidité pour secret, s'était donné pour grand politique." By very few is he mentioned with trust or affection, but appears to have been regarded throughout life as a selfish schemer.

Mr. James Macpherson, the historian, in his " Original Papers," writes : " Accommodating in his principles, and easy in his address, he pleased when he was known to deceive,

54 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

and his manner acquired him a kind of influence even where he commanded no respect. He was little calculated for bold measures, on account of his natural timidity, and that defect created an opinion of his moderation that was ascribed to virtue. His faculty to adopt new measures was forgotten in his readiness to acknowledge the errors of the old. The deficiency of his integrity was forgiven in the decency of his dishonesty. Too weak not to be repentitious, yet possessing too much sense to own adherence to the Church of Rome, he lived a Protestant in his outward profession, but he died a Catholic. Timidity was the chief characteristic of his mind, and that being known, he was even commanded by cowards. He was the man of the least genius of the party, but he had most experience in that slow and constant current of business, which, perhaps, suits affairs of state better than the violent exertions of men of great parts."

Evelyn, as has already been mentioned, is much kinder to him. According to this authority, who was more personally acquainted with Arlington: "He never plays, but reads much, having the Latin, French and Spanish tongues in perfection. He has travelled much, and is the best-bred and courtly person His Majesty has about him, so as the public Ministers more frequent him than any of the rest of the Nobility. My Lord is, besides this, a prudent and understanding person in business, and speaks well; unfortunate yet in those he has advanced, most of them proving ungrateful. The many obligations and civilities I have received from this noble gentleman extracts from me this character, and I am sorry he is in no better circumstances."

In all fairness to Arlington, Clarendon who, at times, hated him not less than Buckingham, had to admit that: "he may well be reckoned in the number of the finest gentlemen of the time."

CHAPTER V

GORING HOUSE (CONCLUDED)

MEANWHILE, touching briefly upon his political scheming, there appears to be little doubt that he was instrumental in advising the Declaration of Indulgence in 1662, and subsequently became the centre of the opposition to Clarendon.

In 1664 he served on the committee for explaining the Act of Settlement in Ireland, and, in March 1665, on that for Tangiers ; he was the principal person connected with foreign affairs, with which he was better acquainted than any politician of Charles's Court. His intimate knowledge of the languages of the Continent no doubt greatly conduced to this influence.

Clarendon asserts that he brought the first Dutch war upon the nation, and there is little doubt that he was the adviser of the attack on the Smyrna fleet before war was declared. In 1665 he urged the King to grant liberty of conscience as being the best means of union during the war, and the readiest way of obtaining money. This, however, is scarcely consistent with Burnet, who says that he had at this time attached Clifford to his interests ; for it is known that Clifford was doing all he could to pass the Five Mile Act.

On the death of Southampton he hoped for the treasurer-ship, for which he was always trying but never obtained. On the dismissal of Clarendon in 1667, Arlington's influence appears to have declined in the face of the enmity of Buckingham and Bristol ; Buckingham, in particular, took pleasure in slighting him. Toward the end of the year, however, they were reconciled, and on terms so intimate that Buckingham asked his assistance in his attack on Ormond, but on this

56 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

point Arlington was obliged to compromise, as his wife Isabella was the sister of the wife of Lord Ossory, Ormond's eldest son. In January 1668 he sent Temple to conclude the triple alliance ; in this affair Temple gained such credit as to earn Arlington's jealousy for the future, which was first shown by his endeavour to get him sent out of the way on the embassy to Madrid.

Scarcely was the triple alliance concluded when Charles wished to break it, and Arlington, who expressed his entire devotion to Louis, and who, though he cautiously refused to accept a bribe himself, allowed his wife to receive a present of 10,000 crowns from Louis, was one of the few persons, all Catholics, entrusted with the secret.

He was now a member of the Cabal, and at the meeting at Dover in 1670 was again reconciled to Buckingham, with whom he had once more quarrelled. The secret treaty with Louis contained a clause by which, for a large sum, Charles was to declare himself Catholic ; this he dared not show the Protestant members of the Cabal. Buckingham, therefore, who was one of them, was duped by being allowed to employ himself in arranging a sham treaty, every article of which, except that mentioned, was the same as in the first, of which he was ignorant. In this trick Arlington had the chief part, and carried it out with great astuteness. He was, too, closely concerned with the designs which Charles entertained of using military force against his own subjects, and in especial with Lauderdale's operations in Scotland, by which an army of 20,000 men was raised, ready to march and act as Charles pleased within his dominions. In 1671 he is spoken of as being in chief esteem and affection with the King.

During these years Arlington and Buckingham, like the mythical lion and unicorn, continued their unceasing battle to "keep the King's ear." Moreover, they became the unofficial ambassadors of two powerful contending nations : France and Spain. Pitiful as it may seem, this state of affairs meant that, "the most favoured nation" was the one "represented by whichever man was close to the heart of Charles."



PLAN OF THE GORING ESTATE, 1675
From the Grace Collection

Perhaps a still worse aspect of the situation is that neither of the two noblemen was actuated by either patriotism or genuine belief in the foreign politics they upheld. As Forneron writes : " Arlington is fond of luxury and amusement. If he were in less close relation with Spain he would have to live sparingly. Arlington would sell his soul to the devil to worst an enemy." In other words, Arlington was bribed, and bribed heavily, by Spain, while on his part, Buckingham threw himself unreservedly on the French side for no other reason than because of his hatred of Arlington ; and such was the enmity of these two that foreign diplomats were always chary of appearing too friendly toward the one for fear of offending the other.

Both men kept an agent in Paris who secretly took charge of the interests of his master at the French Court. Buckingham's man was a vulgar, money-grabbing London tradesman named Leyton, while Arlington, with a shrewder instinct than his rival, had there one Williamson, who was disinterested, close-mouthed, and, above all—setting an example which his master might have done well to have followed—uncorruptible.

Up to this time the Duchess of Cleveland, mistress of Charles, and Arlington's *protégé*, had retained premier place in the monarch's heart, but the Duke of Buckingham hated her—possibly because he was unable to sway her as freely as he wished—so he determined that the King should have another mistress. He found the woman for whom he searched in Louise de Keroualle.

Louise de Keroualle was maid-of-honour to Henriette, Duchess of Orleans, youngest sister of Charles II, and wife of the French king's only brother ; thus when Madame came to visit her brother, she brought with her Louise de Keroualle.

The beauty of the maid-of-honour was not long in inflaming the heart of the susceptible King, who expressed so great a regard for her to Buckingham, that the Duke instantly laid plans to ensure that the King's wishes should be gratified.

58 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

King Louis of France had no objection to the proposed scheme ; on the contrary he helped to further it, for when Buckingham assured him that while he (Louis) could not reckon himself sure of Charles, it would be much to his advantage for the King to have a mistress who would be true to the interests of France, Louis approached Louise de Keroualle on the subject, and the young maid-of-honour (one might spare the mark) agreed to become one king's mistress and another king's spy.

All arrangements were left to Buckingham, who sent her forward, with part of her equipage, to Dieppe, saying that he would be following shortly. Buckingham, however, was the most inconsistent and forgetful of all men, and, incredible as it may sound, he actually forgot all about her. When he crossed to England, he journeyed via Calais, leaving de Keroualle stranded at the other port. One can be quite sure that Arlington would never have been guilty of such an inconsequential piece of work.

Fortunately Montagne, the ambassador in Paris, came to hear of the plight of Louise de Keroualle, and arranged for a yacht to carry her to England, sending some of his own servants to wait on her, and defraying her expenses till she arrived at Whitehall, where she was taken in charge by—of all people—Lord Arlington !

Once at Whitehall, Mademoiselle de Keroualle was given finely furnished lodgings, and as soon as it was known that the King showed a warm passion for her, the same old game began all over again—her friendship was sought by all the ministers.

Colbert de Croissy, in his letters to France, continues the story :

“ Milord Arlington said to me quite recently that he was much pleased at this new attachment of the King, and that although His Majesty never communicated state affairs to ladies, still, as they could whenever they pleased render ill-services to statesmen, and defeat their plans, it was well for the King's good servants that His Majesty

should have a fancy for Keroualle, who was not of an evil disposition and was a lady. It was better to have dealings with her than with a lewd and bouncing orange-girl and actresses, of whom no man of quality could take the measure. She was no termagant or scold, and when the King was with her persons of breeding could, without loss of dignity, go to her rooms, and pay him and her their court. Milord Arlington told me to advise Keroualle to cultivate the King's good graces, and to so manage, that he should only find at her lodgings, enjoyment, peace and quietness. He added that, if Lady Arlington took his advice, she would urge the new favourite either to yield unreservedly to the King or to retire to a French convent. In his opinion I should also advise her in this sense.

"I answered jocularly that I was not such a fool, or so ungrateful to the King, as to tell her to prefer religion to his good graces, that I was persuaded she did not await my advice, but that, nevertheless, I should not spare it upon her to show how both I and Milord appreciated her influence, and in what esteem he held her. I believe I can assure you that she has so got round King Charles as to be of the greatest service to our sovereign and master, if she only does her duty."

The Countess of Arlington, always anxious to further her husband's interests, followed her husband's advice, and concerted with Colbert de Croissy how to bring about the complete surrender of the young French beauty.

"The King did me yesterday the honour to sup at the Embassy, where he proved to me, by indulging in a gay and unfettered debauch, that he does not mistrust me,"

continues Colbert, who persuaded Charles, without much difficulty, to accept an invitation from the Countess of Arlington, to take Louise Keroualle to her Ladyship's seat at Euston, so that he might escape there from his Court, and triumph over her remaining scruples.

"I am going to the Arlington's place at Euston, and as the King's inclination for Keroualle, who is to go there with me, is rising, I foresee that he will often run across from Newmarket to see her."

During the years that had passed, Arlington had, with the aid of Spanish money, built for himself at Euston what was called a house, but of which the description read far more like a palace, for it was immense, built in brick, with two wings and four pavilions. A balustrade crowned the mansion, and was ornamented at equal distances with alternate vases and statues. There was there, in 1672, a picture gallery and billiard room, a chapel, an orangery, and conservatory adorned with busts of the Cæsari in alabaster. The apartments of each guest were so well isolated that he, or she, might cut off all communication with the rest of the house, and enjoy an independent establishment. The King's apartments were painted in fresco. All the others were elegantly furnished. There were numerous bathrooms, a pharmacy, and in the poultry yard, coops for fattening fowl. The stables contained thirty horse, and the parks a thousand deer.

This, then, was the magnificent estate, which then far surpassed the "ill-built" Goring House, to which Lady Arlington welcomed the erstwhile maid-of-honour, presumably still a maid of virtue; Colbert de Croissy, the Countess of Sutherland, and a great many members of the Court.

Simultaneously the King moved his Court to Newmarket, from where he visited Euston every other day, and often slept there.

"The king," wrote Colbert, "comes here for his repasts, and after eating he passes several hours with Keroualle. He has already paid her three visits—those small attentions which denote a great passion were lavished on her, and as she showed by her expression of gratitude that she was not insensible to the kindness of a great king, we hope she will so behave that the attachment will be durable and exclude every other."

It was there, too, at Euston, that the Countess of Arlington and Sunderland, under the pretext of killing the tedium of an October evening in a country house, arranged a burlesque wedding in which Louise de Keroualle was the bride, and the King the bridegroom, with all the immodest ceremonies which marked, in the good old times, the retirement of the former into her nuptial chamber.

It was thought, by many, significant that Keroualle had a son exactly nine months after the mock ceremony, and if not proof that that night at Euston marked her first submission to the King's passion, at least a suggestion that such was the case.

No wonder Arlington was considered as being the favourite of the King at that time, though it is difficult to reconcile the fact of Arlington, puppet of Spain, fostering the intimacy between the King and—in harsh words—a French spy.

Undoubtedly Arlington's affairs were prospering, and in 1672 he was paid by the King what he considered, and no doubt the world in general, the supreme honour of becoming related to his monarch by marriage, his daughter being married to the Duke of Grafton, the King's natural son by the Duchess of Cleveland.

This was on the 1st of August. Isabella was then but five years old. The King and many of the Court were present at the ceremony at which the Archbishop of Canterbury officiated. When Arlington gave his daughter away he committed the most selfish act of his life, by sacrificing his only child for the sake of personal ambition. It was, however, the summit of his career : soon after that the tide began to turn.

In that same year he was nearly concerned with the closing of the exchequer, and with the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, which, however, in opposition to his colleagues in the Cabal, he urged Charles to withdraw when it was attacked by Parliament in 1673. Meanwhile, on the 22nd of April, 1672, he had been raised in the Peerage, being made Earl of Arlington, and Viscount Thetford in Norfolk. On the 15th of June he was made Knight of the Garter.

62 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

Jealous of Clifford, who had been made Lord Treasurer, Arlington next turned to the Dutch interest, disclosed the secret of the real and sham treaties to Ormond and Shaftesbury, and used all his influence in the House of Commons to pass the Test Act, whereby Clifford was ruined. He also advised Charles to dismiss James, incurring thereby the latter's extreme enmity, and induced the King at the end of 1673 to conclude a separate peace with the Dutch, from whom he had long been believed to have been receiving bribes. Shortly afterward he went with Buckingham and Halifax to treat for a general peace with Louis at Utrecht.

At this point, it is interesting to read a few more words about Goring House. On the 17th of April, 1673, John Evelyn in his "Diary," has occasion to mention the house which he had once called an "ill-built villa."

"I carried Lady Tuke to thank the Countess of Arlington for speaking to His Majesty in her behalf, for being one of the Queen-Consort's women. She carried us up into her new dressing-room at Goring House, where was a bed, two glasses, silver jars, and vases, cabinets, and other so rich furniture as I had seldom seen : to this excess of superfluity were we now arrived, and that not only at Court, but almost universally, even to wantonness and profusion."

Evelyn thus serves to confirm what so many other authorities have already said about Arlington and his extravagance. He would have nothing but perfection in his house, and lived in an ostentatious manner, which he suffered no other noble to equal, or surpass : for instance, no member of the aristocracy had so many coaches in his mews, while he had over a thousand servants to attend his needs at Goring House and Euston Hall.

1674 proved an unlucky year for Arlington in many ways. Firstly, on the 15th of January, he was impeached in the House of Commons as "being the great instrument, or 'conduit-pipe' of the King's evil measures." The charges

against him were under three heads : (1) the constant and vehement promotion of Popery ; (2) self-aggrandizement and embezzlement ; (3) frequent betrayal of trust.

On the previous day, Buckingham, when himself attacked, had charged Arlington with frustrating all Protestant and anti-French plans, with having induced the King to send for Schomberg to try and govern by an army, with having been the author of the unwarrantable attack on the Smyrna fleet, and with having appropriated large sums of money.

Arlington, in defence, showed that the House was dealing with presumptions rather than proofs, and in the end, a result due in a great measure to the personal efforts and influence of Lord Ossory, the vote to address the King for his removal was rejected by 166 to 127, and further proceedings were dropped.

Less than eight months later Goring House, of which he and his wife were so proud, its hangings, its rare pictures and plate, its cabinets and all the best and most princely furniture, were all destroyed, for on the night of the 21st August, 1674, while Lord and Lady Arlington were absent in Bath, Goring House caught fire and was burnt to the ground.

Scarcely anything was saved : the hand of God had irretrievably destroyed those treasures which it had taken him a lifetime to acquire.

CHAPTER VI

ARLINGTON HOUSE

HIS general want of success, the enmity of James, Duke of York, the intensified mimicry of Buckingham, and the rising power of Danby, who was reintroducing the principles of Clarendon which the Cabal had opposed, viz. the strict alliance of the Anglican Church with the Crown, now caused Arlington to lose ground rapidly. On the 11th of September, 1674, he resigned the secretaryship, for £6,000, to Williamson, and was made Lord Chamberlain instead. To regain favour with the Parliament, he revived some dormant orders prohibiting Papists to appear at Court, opposed the French interests, and in December 1674, hoping to supplant Temple at the Hague, had himself sent with Ossory to treat with Orange for a general peace, and to suggest his marriage with James's daughter, Mary. In this mission he completely failed, and earned with William of Orange the reputation of being arrogant, patronizing, artificial, false, and tedious.

His credit declined more rapidly ; his solemn face and formal gait laid him open to the jokes of the Court, which could now be indulged in safety ; it became a common jest for some courtier to put a black patch upon his nose and strut about with a white staff in his hand to amuse the King. Nothing was left to him but to foster his grudge against Danby, who, like Clifford, had excited his jealousy by gaining the place he was ambitious of filling. He encouraged Danby's enemies in the House of Commons, and the quarrel caused such inconvenience that Charles, unwilling to dismiss one who, after Ormond, was his oldest servant, asked Temple to

mediate. Danby expressed his willingness for reconciliation, but Arlington sulkily retired to his country seat at Euston, in Suffolk, where he had indulged his one "expensive vice," that of building, to the limit of his fortune.

He rebuilt Goring House and Euston Church. So far as Goring House was concerned, he did so on a scale which surpassed anything he had hitherto attempted. The result sent Dryden into ecstasy ; before long the poet expressed his lyrical praise, in the form of a Latin poem, which was subsequently translated by the ill-fated Boyse.

The impulse to quote it, *in toto*, is irresistible. The flamboyant phraseology of that period can do so much more justice to the extravagant luxuriousness of Arlington's new home, which he renamed Arlington House, than the more sedate conciseness of modern literature.

Near to those domes th' indulgent powers assign
The sacred seat of Stuarts' majestic line ;
(Those rising towers, that, known to ancient fame,
Bear both the Monarch's and the Martyr's name) ;
Near those fair lawns, and intermingled groves,
Where gentle Zephyrs breathe and sporting Loves ;
A frame there stands, that rears its beauteous height,
And strikes with pleasing ravishment the sight.
Full on the front the orient sun displays
His chearful beams ; and, as his light decays,
Again adorns it with his western rays.
Here wondering crowds admire the owner's state,
And view the glories of the fair and great ;
Here falling statesmen Fortune's charges feel,
And prove the turns of her revolving wheel ;
Then envy, mighty Arlington, thy life
That feels no tempest, and that knows no strife.
Whence every jarring sound is banish'd far,
The restless vulgar, and the noisy bar ;
But heavenly Peace that shuns the courtier-train,
And Innocence, and conscious Virtue, reign.
Here when Aurora brings the purple day,
And opening buds their tender leaves display ;
While the fair vales afford a smiling view,
And the fields glitter with the morning dew,

66 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

No rattling wheel disturbs the peaceful ground,
 Or wounds the ear with any jarring sound ;
 Th' unwearied eye with ceaseless rapture strays,
 And still variety of charm surveys.
 Here watch the fearful deer their tender fawns,
 Stray through the wood, or browse the verdant lawns :
 Here from the marshy glade the wild-duck springs,
 And slowly moves her wet incumber'd wings :
 Around soft Peace and Solitude appear,
 And golden Plenty crowns the smiling year.

Thy beauteous gardens charm the ravish'd sight,
 And surfeit every sense with soft delight ;
 Where-e'er we turn our still transported eyes,
 New scenes of Art with Nature join'd arise ;
 We dwell indulgent on the lovely scene,
 The lengthen'd vista or the carpet green ;
 A thousand graces bless th' enchanted ground,
 And throw promiscuous beauties all around.

Within thy fair parterres appear to view
 A thousand flowers of various form and hue
 There spotless lilies rear their sickly heads,
 And purple violets creep along the beds ;
 Here shews the bright jonquil its gilded face,
 Join'd with the pale carnation's fairer grace ;
 The painted tulip and the blushing rose
 A blooming wilderness of sweets compose.

In such a scene great Cupid wounded lay,
 To Love and Psyche's charms a glorious prey,
 Here felt the pleasing pain and thrilling smart,
 And prov'd too well his own resistless dart.

High in the midst appears a rising ground,
 With greens and ballustrades inclos'd around ;
 Here a new wonder stops the wandering sight,
 A dome whose walls and roof transmit the light ;
 Here foreign plants and trees exotic thrive,
 And in the cold unfriendly climate live ;
 For when bleak Winter chills the rolling year,
 The guarded strangers find their safety here ;
 And, fenc'd from storms and the inclement air,
 They sweetly flourish ever green and fair ;
 Their lively buds they shoot, and blossoms show,
 And gaily bloom amidst surrounding snow.

But when the genial Spring all Nature cheers,
 And Earth renew'd her verdant honours wears,

ARLINGTON HOUSE

67

The golden plants their wonted station leave,
And in the milder air with freedom breathe :
Then tender branches feel th' enlivening ray,
Unfold their leaves, and all their pomp display ;
Around their fragrant flowers the Zephyrs play,
And waft the aromatic scents away.

Not far from hence a lofty wood appears,
That, spite of age, its verdant honours wears,
Here widely spread does ample shade display,
Expel the sun, and form a doubtful day.
Here thoughtful Solitude finds spacious room,
And reigns through all the wide-extended gloom ;
Beneath the friendly covert lovers toy,
And spend the flying hours in amorous joy ;
Unmindful of approaching night they sport,
While circling pleasures new attention court ;
Or through the Maze forgetfully they stray,
Lost in the pleasing sweetly-winding way :
Or, stretch'd at ease upon the flowery grass,
In tales of love the starry night they pass ;
While the soft nightingale through all the groves
His song repeats, and soothes his tender loves ;
Whose strains harmonious and the silent night
Increase the joy and give compleat delight.

A curious terrace stops the wandering eye,
Where lovely jasmines fragrant shade supply :
Whose tender branches, in their pride array'd,
Invite the wanderer to the grateful shade :
From hence afar a various prospect lies,
Where artless Nature courts the ravish'd eyes ;
The sight at once a thousand charms surveys,
And, pleas'd, o'er villages and forests strays :
Here harvests grow, and lawns appear, and woods,
And gently rising hills,—and distant floods.

Here, Arlington, thy mighty mind disdains
Inferior earth, and breaks its servile chains,
Aloft on Contemplation's wings you rise,
Scorn all below, and mingle with the skies :
Where, rais'd by great Philosophy, you soar,
And worlds remote in boundless space explore ;
These from your height divine with pity view
The various cares that busy men pursue ;
Where each by different ways aspires to gain
Uncertain happiness with certain pain ;

68 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

While you, well pleas'd, th' exalted raptures know,
That do from conscious truth and virtue flow ;
And, blessing all, by all around you blest,
You take the earnest of eternal rest.

You, who have left the public cares of state,
Another Scipio in retirement great,
Have chang'd your royal master's gentle smiles,
For solitude divine, and rural toils ;
In vain the call of Glory sounds to arms ;
In vain Ambition shews her painted charms ;
While in the happy walk, or sacred shade,
No anxious cares thy soul serene invade ;
Where all the heavenly train thy steps attend,
Sooth every thought, from every ill defend :
Such was the lot th' immortal Roman chose ;
Great in his triumphs, greater in repose !

Thus blest with smiling Heaven's indulgent store,
Canst thou in wishes lavish ask for more ?
Yet more they give—thy good old age to bless,
And fill the sun of mortal happiness :
Thy only daughter, Britain's boasted grace
Join'd with a hero of the royal race ;
And that fair fabrick which our wondering eyes
So lately saw from humble ruins rise,
And mock the rage of the devouring flame !
A nobler structure, and a fairer frame !
Whose beauties long shall charm succeeding days,
And tell posterity the founder's praise.

When from divine Olympa's towering height,
All-beauteous Venus saw the pleasing sight,
In dimpled smiles and looks enchanting drest,
Thus powerful Jove the charming queen address :

“ Behold the lovely seat, and let thy care

“ Indulgent bless th' united happy pair ;

“ Here long their place their happy race assign,

“ By Virtue still distinguish'd may they shine ;

“ In the request immortal Pallas joins,

“ (Long has the patriot offer'd at her shrines)

“ With love of arts his god-like bosom glows,

“ And treads those paths by which the Goddess rose.”

The awful father gave the gracious sign,
And fix'd the fortunes of the glorious line.

It is a pity that Dryden did not continue his theme, and so have embraced the interior of the new Arlington House, for he would have found ample material for his facile and complimentary pen. Fortunately both de Croissy and Evelyn are able to give us slight glimpses of its prodigality.

For instance, Lady Arlington begged of Madame de Croissy : " to send her from Paris enough of the finest Venice brocatelle to make hangings for an anteroom, and covers for twelve chairs, bed curtains in green damask, and coverings of the same stuff for a sofa, a set of chairs, and fauteuils in another chamber."

Evelyn writes : " My son and I dining at my Lord Chamberlain's, he showed us, amongst others, that incomparable piece of Raphael's, being a Minister of State dictating to Guicciardini, the earnestness of whose face looking up in expectation of what he was next to write, is so to the life, and so natural, as I esteem it one of the choicest pieces of that admirable artist. There was a woman's head of Leonardo da Vinci : a Madonna of old Palma, and two of Vandyke's, of which one was his own picture at length, when young, in a leaning posture ; the other an eunuch singing. Rare pieces indeed ! "

Meanwhile Colbert de Croissy had drifted into enmity with Louise de Keroualle. He behaved toward her with his characteristic rudeness, and then turned Arlington against her, thus the poor woman had to suffer the indignity of both men reproaching her to her face, with the stratagems to which they had all stooped in order to unite her, and the King, in an amorous *liaison*.

" Arlington neither likes nor esteems M. de Keroualle, and reproaches her with having as soon forgotten the obligations he conferred on her, as any of the good dinners she has eaten," writes the amiable ambassador.

One way and another, during the year 1675, affairs continued to go badly for Arlington, so, furious with the world, he did not withdraw from his seclusion of Euston until

the first week in October when he returned to his newly built home.

By this time he had dropped out of the ever-changing tide of politics, but, like an old war-horse, he could not resist casting himself back into the arena. For the purpose of renewing his influence, and making himself acquainted with the latest moves of his opponents, he dispensed the princely hospitality of Arlington House ; as Miss Barbour aptly writes, "gathering at his board all the lions whose roar could be heard in London."

More especially did he cultivate the friendship of the newly arrived Spanish Ambassador, and the "pushing, talking, pressing" Van Beriningen, once again the representative of the Dutch States.

So far as Charles was concerned, he gladly welcomed Arlington, and received him back with every appearance of kindness, but more as a valued friend and old servant than as a Minister and man of power ; but to have to play this rôle was an admission of weakness, to which the proud spirit of Arlington could not humble itself, so he searched for a means to recover his old supremacy.

As before he realized that the only possible way of achieving this object was, once again, to pander to the King's weakness for beautiful women, and much as Buckingham had previously cast around to find a pretty and pliant tool, so now Arlington did the same.

About this time, Louise de Keroualle, who was, by now, the Duchess of Portsmouth, and still sharing paramount favour with Nelly Gwyn, had cause for some anxiety, in the anticipated advent to London of the greatest beauty in Europe, the splendid Duchess Mazarin, who, furious against the Court of Versailles, which had repelled her advances, decked herself out to conquer the heart of the King of England, and embarking in Holland, had landed at Torbay.

Conceiving that the Duchess was the one person in the world who might succeed in advancing his interests, Arlington

mouth as much as he himself did, to make use of Mazarin, and as a preliminary step sent her an invitation to Arlington House. In due course the Duchess rode into town, attired as a gentleman of fashion, accompanied by two women, five men-servants, and a little blackamoor who always attended at her table.

So far as the Duchess Mazarin herself was concerned, the intrigue was successful. Her undeniable beauty inflamed the King, and before long she joined the long list of his mistresses, but the results which he expected from the King's latest "conquest" were never forthcoming.

To Arlington it proved a grievous disappointment. Although Charles was only too pleased to add the adventurous lady to his seraglio, enjoy her society, and give her everything that her heart could desire, she was never more than a second favourite, and her influence with the King was negligible.

During the year 1678 Arlington's influence at Court reached its very lowest ebb, and so far as politics were concerned, he never recovered; even though he continued to retain the King's friendship, and achieved the gratification of his dearest wish by having Charles command the re-marriage of the Duke of Grafton to the Lady Isabella Bennet, which took place on the 6th November, 1679—undoubtedly to the dissatisfaction of Buckingham who had tried his utmost to prevent the first honour to his old enemy.

As before, Evelyn was invited, and he has left an account of his feelings on the matter :

" Was this evening at the re-marriage of the Duchess of Grafton to the Duke, she being now twelve years old.

" A sudden and unexpected thing when everybody believed the first marriage would have come to nothing, but the measure being determined, I was privately invited by my Lady, her mother, to be present. I confess I could give her little joy, so I plainly told her, but she said the King would have it so, and there was no going back.

This sweetest, hopefulest, most beautiful child, and most virtuous too, was sacrificed to a boy that had been rudely bred, without anything to encourage them but his Majesty's pleasure. I pray the sweet child find it to her advantage, who, if my augury deceive me not, will in a few years be such a paragon as were fit to make the wife of the greatest Prince in Europe. My love to my Lord Arlington's family, and the sweet child made me behold all this with regret, though as the Duke of Grafton affects the sea, to which I find his father intends to use him, he may emerge a plain, useful and robust officer, and, were he polish'd, a tolerable person, for he is exceeding handsome, by far surpassing any of the King's other natural issue."

In 1680 Arlington lost his friend, and very distant relative, the Earl of Ossory who, having dined with Evelyn, and gone with His Majesty to the Sheriffs: "at a great supper in Fishmonger's Hall, but, finding himself ill he took his leave immediately of His Majesty, and came back to his lodging. Not resting well the night, he was persuaded to remove to Arlington House, for better accommodation. His disorder turned to a malignant fever, which increasing after all that six of the most able physicians could do, he became delirious, with intervals of sense, during which Dr. Lloyd administered the Holy Sacrament. He died the Friday following, the 30 July, to the universal grief of all that knew or heard of his great worth."

By this time Arlington was physically an old man, worn out by the constant strife and intrigue of the Court of Restoration, and at last he decided to retire from politics. If his ambitions had not been altogether gratified, at least he had reached a pinnacle which most other men would envy, father-in-law to the King's son, friend to the King himself, Lord Chamberlain, and proud possessor of two gorgeous homes.

Once he had retired, he spent the remainder of his life, and money, in building and improving his estates, all for the



CHARLES II

From an engraving by Charles Turner

benefit of his daughter whom he worshipped. So far as Arlington House was concerned he collected more and more rare pictures and elegant furniture, and in 1681 increased the property by purchasing from Sir Thomas Grosvenor a goodly portion of the Grosvenor Estate which surrounded Arlington House, for the sum of £3500 ; an addition which seems to have escaped the notice of other writers, not one of whom has mentioned the fact. It will be seen from the picture facing page 80 that the parcel of land which Sir Thomas Grosvenor sold him consisted of the upper and lower Crowfields.

He must have spent the last few years of his life very serenely, and in 1683 his cup of happiness was filled to the brim by the birth of a son and heir to the Duchess of Grafton : " which Lord Arlington is so joy'd with that some say he will smother it with kisses."

Having declared his neutrality in the political struggle, which nearly split the country, for the exclusion of the Catholic Duke of York from the Succession, he frequently found himself in the peculiar position of mediator, and surrounded by the swirl of battle which he placidly ignored.

It was in the garden of Arlington House that the Duke of Monmouth took leave of his father when he was sent abroad, while in 1681, the Prince of Orange, future King of England, spent two nights there.

The following year, when the Duke of York returned from his exile in Scotland, it was to Arlington House that he went to meet the King and Queen.

When in 1681 Parliament met at Oxford to bring the Exclusion Bill before the House for the second time, Charles summoned Shaftesbury, and proposed a conference to him during which the situation might be discussed, in order to discover the best solution, at which were to be present Shaftesbury himself, and two of his party, and the King with two advisers.

" My Lord Shaftesbury accepted the motion, and desired to know the place which the King would needs

74 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

refer to him, who thereupon said that he thought no place fitter than my Lord Chamberlain's lodging. The King asked why there of all places, and was answered, first, that it was the most indifferent place in the world, because my Lord Chamberlain was neither good Protestant nor good Catholic, and next, because his was the best wine, which was the only good thing that could be had from their meeting."

In 1685 Arlington's friend and patron, Charles II, died, and was succeeded by his brother, James II, who re-conferred the offer of Lord Chamberlain to Arlington. The ageing Earl also participated in the ceremonies of the Coronation, and took the oath of Supremacy and Allegiance.

The following July he fell ill at Arlington House. As soon as he learned that there was no hope for him, to the utter amazement of the onlookers, he sent for a priest, but not without remembering his old caution, added: "Yet I will not have it knowne untill I am dead."

On the 25th of July, 1685, he passed peacefully away, leaving behind him as heiress of his estates his daughter Isabella.

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Before passing on to the concluding chapter of Arlington House it is interesting to expose a pleasant tradition which has grown up around Buckingham Palace, and which was repeated in certain London newspapers as recently as the latter part of 1927, namely, that the first cup of tea drunk in England was probably brewed in Arlington House.

John Timbs, that master of anecdote, is probably the originator of this myth, for he relates in his "Curiosities of London," that, in the year of the great plague, 1665, Lord Arlington brought back from Holland the first pound of tea imported into this country. From this fact, he assumes, *ipso facto*, that my Lord Arlington brewed the first pot of tea.

Unfortunately neither John Timbs, nor Thornbury who supports the tea tradition, could have consulted Ellis's "Letters" (2nd Series), otherwise they would have read a leaflet by one Thomas Garway, keeper of the famous Garraway coffee-house in Enching Alley, in which he describes the "growth, quality, and virtues of tea," which he sold, "in leaf and drink," in 1657.

CHAPTER VII

ARLINGTON HOUSE (CONCLUDED)

AFTER Arlington's death, his houses and property came into the possession of his daughter, the Duchess of Grafton, and her husband, thus for the first time the site of the Mulberry Garden was occupied by quasi-royalty ; if James I could have been in a position to have known what was happening in the world he would doubtless have been quite pleased to have learned that one of his direct descendants was enjoying the " fruits " of his toiling !

Henry Fitzroy was born on 20th September, 1663, a son of Barbara Villiers, Countess of Castlemaine, afterward Duchess of Cleveland. Before he was very many years old, Charles II, his father, married him, as has already been related, to Isabella, the daughter of Arlington.

After the second marriage, in 1679, Fitzroy volunteered to serve under Sir John Berry, and was sent away to learn his profession ; during his absence in 1680 he was installed, by proxy, a Knight of the Garter.

In 1682 he became an Elder Brother of the Trinity House, after which he was appointed colonel of the first Foot-guards, and, later on in the year, was created vice-admiral of England in the place of Prince Rupert.

The following year he was given the responsibility of captaining the *Grafton*, a ship of 70 guns, managing it with a dexterity which proved him a born sailor. In 1684, while visiting the fiery Louis XIV at Condé, he exposed himself to some considerable danger at the Siege of Luxemburg, in order to gain experience of military service, which subsequently came in useful after he returned to England, when he

took his share in suppressing Monmouth's futile rebellion. Once again he showed his gallantry and skill when, at the skirmish of Philip's Norton, he fell into an ambushade, from which he retreated only with great risk.

In 1657, after having taken his seat in Parliament, fought two duels, and assisted his brother, Northumberland, in that intriguing attempt to abduct Northumberland's wife, he started with a fleet on the expedition which conveyed the betrothed Queen of Pedro II of Portugal, to Lisbon, where Grafton was fêted in a most munificent style. It was with some reluctance that he set sail again. From Lisbon he proceeded to cruise among the Barbary States, where, acting with great diplomacy, he renewed certain treaties, and effected the release of some English captives.

When he returned home again his conduct was less satisfactory, for having accompanied James II on his march against William, and vowing to serve him unstintingly, he shortly afterward deserted Churchill, and joined forces with William, whose eventual success restored Grafton to his regiment, at the head of which he was commanded to besiege Tilbury Fort.

His martial spirit did not suffer him to remain at rest for long. In 1690 he commanded his ship, the *Grafton*, at the battle of Beachy Head, and as soon as peace was declared, he looked around for a fresh field of battle, and found it by volunteering to serve under—of all people—Churchill, now Lord Marlborough, the man whom he had previously deserted!

This engagement proved to be Grafton's last: while accompanying four regiments, wading through water reaching almost up to their chins, in an effort to land under the walls of Cork, he was dangerously wounded by an enemy musket-bullet which broke two of his ribs.

The heroic assault was an overwhelming success. The walls were breached, and the town stormed. Grafton was carried into the captured city and tended, but after lingering for eleven days, he died, on the 9th October, 1690.

78 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

Thus died one of the most able, and certainly the most popular of all the natural sons of Charles II, whose career proved Evelyn's dismal forebodings unfounded.

The Lady Isabella might have been married to many a worse husband. He was rough and boorish, a crime no doubt in the eyes of gentlemen of quality, but at least he was honest, and had a strong and decided character of which the courtly sycophants might well have been envious. Lastly, his reckless daring and his unqualified bravery commended him to both friends and followers.

Subsequent to her husband's death, the Duchess of Grafton possibly found Arlington House too big for the needs of herself and her only son, for Stow records in his survey of the cities of London and Westminster that :

“ At the upper end of the Park westward is Arlington House—It is a most neat Box, and sweetly sealed amongst gardens, besides the prospect of the Park, and the adjoining fields. At present the Duke of Devonshire resideth here, as Tenant to the Duchess of Grafton.”

Another surveyor has somewhat more to say on the subject of Arlington House :

“ Arlington Garden being now in the hands of my Lord of Devonshire, is a fair place, with good walks, both airy and shady. There are six of the greatest earthen pots that are anywhere else, being at least ten feet over within the edge, but they stand abroad, and have nothing in them but the tree holy-oke, an indifferent plant, which grows well enough in the ground. Their greenhouse is very well, and their green-yard excels, but their greens are not so bright and clean as farther off in the country, as if they suffered something from the smutty air of the town.”

William Cavendish, the first Duke of Devonshire, was as picturesque a character as the Earl of Mulgrave, who suc-

ceeded him in the occupancy of Arlington House, and as sanguinary as the Duke of Grafton, whom he followed.

His first, very indirect connection with the Mulberry Garden lies in the fact that, as a young boy, he was sent abroad with Dr. Killigrew, who afterward became Master of the Savoy, and whose name has already been mentioned as the employer of Mrs. Reeve, Dryden's frequent companion at the Garden.

Upon their return home Cavendish was honoured by being chosen as one of the four noblemen to bear the train of Charles II at his coronation, and was afterward elected Member of Parliament for Derby. The following year he married the second daughter of the Duke of Ormond.

In 1665 he volunteered for service with the fleet, and was in attendance upon the Duke of York during the battle with De Ruyter, when he behaved sufficiently gallantly to attract the attention of Sir Thomas Clifford, who wrote to Lord Arlington—little realizing that he was writing of the boy who was subsequently to rent Arlington House—that: "Lord Cavendish behaved very well, and the shallop that brought him, and the writer, having six guns did much good."

During the next four years he attracted a certain amount of notice in Parliament, but in 1669 he was the chief actor in an affair which tickled the imagination of every Court in Europe.

It happened on the stage of the Opera in Paris, when he was insulted by three officers of the King's guard. He struck one of them in the face, whereupon the three of them, with a lack of the gallantry and courtesy which is not usually associated with officers of a King's guard, drew their swords, and attacked him simultaneously.

Cavendish retreated to the side scenes, where he stood on guard, bravely prepared to battle with his opponents, but doubtless he would have been overcome by the superiority of numbers had not someone seized hold of him, and thrown him down into the pit. In endeavouring to save his life,

Cavendish's rescuer was nearly responsible for ending it, for in falling the unfortunate Earl tore his arm so badly that he bore there, as a result, a scar for the remainder of his life.

His assailants were promptly arrested, but Cavendish's sense of justice, and his generosity, which throughout his life reveals itself to be as much a characteristic of him, as his fiery, and easily-aroused temper, urged him to intercede on their behalf, and they were liberated.

Six years later he was involved in another affair, but one more of local than of general interest ; and it originated in much the same way as did the affair between Mulgrave and Rochester, related later on in this history—through idle and, perhaps, malicious gossip !

It was rumoured that, in speaking of a Colonel Howard who had been killed in the French war, Lord Cavendish and Sir Thomas Meres had publicly wished : " that all others were equally served who acted against a vote of parliament "—a stupid and irresponsible remark which no cultured or intelligent gentleman would have ever made. Unfortunately Colonel Howard's brother, Thomas, did not stop to weigh up the pros and cons of the matter, but published a broadsheet attacking Cavendish, which later was laid before the House of Commons.

Hearing of this broadsheet for the first time, Cavendish immediately rose, and commenced to leave the House, with the obvious intention of challenging Howard, whereupon Lord William Russell, the unfortunate peer who was, later on, to lose his head for being implicated in the Monmouth rising, moved and carried that he should not be permitted to retire, and that neither he, nor Sir Thomas Meres, be allowed to give or accept any challenge from Howard.

This wise act of the Commons would probably have eased the situation, but Howard vulgarly boasted that Cavendish had not dared take notice of his broadsheet until forced to do so by its publication in the House. The effect of this undiplomatic and ungentlemanly behaviour was to infuriate the fiery Cavendish, who, despite the resolutions of the

Commons, publicly proclaimed Howard a poltroon, by fixing a paper to this effect on the palace gate.

For breaking Privilege, both Cavendish and Howard were committed to the Tower, but were subsequently liberated a few days later, on their own petitions, and were then officially reconciled by the Speaker. This was the end of the matter.

For some years Cavendish devoted his time to parliamentary matters, and the next real affair of interest, not actually concerned with politics, was his reputed attempt to rescue Russell from prison. The story is told by Bishop Burnet, whose veracity is not above reproach, but in this case it is quite possibly accurate, for the suggestion which Cavendish put forward, namely to visit Russell while in prison, and there to change clothes with him, is not inconsistent with Cavendish's character.

William Cavendish was chiefly responsible for the bringing to justice of the three Germans, in the employ of Count Koningsmarck, who assassinated Thomas Thynne as he was driving down Pall Mall, and when Koningsmarck himself was acquitted, challenged him to a duel at Calais.

Unfortunately the challenge did not reach the Count until the German adventurer had arrived in Flanders, but in reply Koningsmarck expressed his willingness to remain there three weeks. This letter he sent in a packet to the Swedish president—possibly hoping for what actually happened. The President, suspicious of the contents, opened it, and passed on the information to the Secretary of State, who served a writ of *ne exeat regno* upon Cavendish, so, for the second time, the Earl was baulked of his duel.

Subsequently the Count was informed of Cavendish's desire to meet him, to which the other replied that he was in the employment of Louis XIV, and that the French law vigorously forbade duelling.

Cavendish was not always so unlucky—if such a word is allowable, under the circumstances. In 1676 he dangerously wounded Lord Mohun, and three years later he seconded Lord Plymouth.

82 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

Another time he quarrelled with Colonel Thomas Colepeper. Evelyn tells the story :

“ Just as I was coming into the lodgings at Whitehall, my lord of Devonshire* standing very neare his majesty's bedchamber doore in the lobby, came Colonel Colepeper and in a rude manner looking my lord in the face asked whether this was a time and place for excluders to appear. My lord told him he was no excluder, the other affirming it again ; my lord told him he lied, on which Colepeper struck him a box on the ear, which my lord returned, and felled him.”

This outburst cost Devonshire £30,000 which he was fined at the King's Bench, and was committed to the King's Bench Prison until payment was made. Possibly James was behind this move, for the King had no liking for the Protestant Earl.

Devonshire escaped, and fled to Chatsworth, to where the Sheriff of Derby and a posse was sent to arrest him. This would have daunted most men, but the Earl acted with an audacity which is as intriguing as it was courageous, for what he did was to imprison the very men who had been sent to imprison him, and kept them in durance until he arranged his liberty by giving his personal bond for payment of the fine.

It is pleasant to reflect that the objectionable Colepeper did not go unscathed from this encounter, though his punishment followed some years later, for on the 30th of June, 1697, Devonshire, now a duke, “ meeting Colepeper at the Auction House in St. Alban's Street, he caned him for being troublesome to him in the late reign.”

It is interesting, though scarcely surprising, that Devonshire was as belligerent in legal matters as he was in more personal affairs, and spent a considerable amount of time and money in litigation, as Luttrell can prove. By yet another extraordinary coincidence one of his chief opponents was Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham.

* Cavendish succeeded his father to the earldom in 1684.

Twice, in Court, they came to loggerheads. Firstly in 1697, both men claimed to have purchased Berkley House, judgment eventually being given to Devonshire.

The second time the other duke won : Luttrell reports it as follows :

“ July 1st, 1707. Saturday last the Dukes of Devon and Bucks had a tryal in the exchequer : the latter sued the former for damages occassioned by a fire some time since in Arlington House, and the jury gave the Duke of Buckingham £330.”

It is almost strange that Devonshire died of “ stone and strangury.” One might almost have expected him to have perished in flames, for fire pursued him wherever he went. In 1686, when he was living in Montagu House he lost very severely by fire, while in 1698 his quarters at Whitehall were totally destroyed by the same medium. Even during the few years he lived at Arlington House he suffered loss by fire, as mentioned above.

Devonshire was as energetic and prodigal in matters of sport, entertainment, and love, as he was in fighting duels and parliamentary acts. At both horse-racing and cock-fighting he won and lost vast amounts of money, while he was generous in his donations to charity, and lavish in his hospitality—there is on record that one supper and masked ball cost him over £1000.

Like Arlington before, and Buckingham after him, he was a writer, though to a lesser extent than either of the others. Like Buckingham he was of courteous address, and of an amiable but commanding mien, like Arlington he was a good Latin scholar—this latter an excellent achievement considering that his education was less than thorough, the fault of the civil wars which interfered with his studies.

Macky, who was sent over to England by German interests, to spy upon the Court, sums him up as follows :

“ He hath been the finest and handsomest gentleman of his Time, loves the ladies and plays, keeps a noble house

84 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

and equipage, is tall, well made, and of a princely behaviour. Of nice honour in everything, but the paying his tradesmen,"

with which conclusions Swift was in thorough agreement.

In matters of the heart it is to be feared that he was dissolute, leaving behind him, as was the fashion in those days, many natural children.

Perhaps it was one of his mistresses who penned the following lines anent him :

Whose awful sweetness challenged our esteem,
Our sex's wonder and our sex's theme ;
Whose soft commanding looks our breasts assailed ;
He came and saw and at first sight prevailed.

Precisely when Devonshire took up his residence at Arlington House, is as obscure as when he moved out again, but it appears likely that while he was still in occupation, the Duchess of Grafton sold the property to the Duke of Buckingham, otherwise there seems no reason for Buckingham to have sued him for the damage caused by fire.

At any rate, in 1703, Arlington House, like its late owner, dissolved into dust, upon the ruins of the house rose another, more magnificent, mansion, and with the removal of Devonshire into his own house in Piccadilly, the last chapter of Arlington House is finished.

CHAPTER VIII

BUCKINGHAM HOUSE

JOHAN SHEFFIELD, descendant of a long series of illustrious ancestors, son of the second Earl of Mulgrave, and Elizabeth, daughter of Lionel Cranfield, first Earl of Middlesex, was born on the 7th of April, 1648, and was baptized on the 12th of April, at St. Martin-in-the-Fields. In 1658 his father died, and the young boy became the third Earl of Mulgrave.

In the meanwhile his education was in the hands of a tutor, who was finding that his appointment was no sinecure, for doubtless, even at that early age, the boy revealed an impetuous strength of character, and an insatiable taste for knowledge, which soon exhausted the man's store of learning, and possibly his patience as well. In fact, so unsatisfactory did the man prove himself that John, before he reached the age of twelve years, dispensed with the man's services, and decided to educate himself.

This he proceeded to do with an assiduity of purpose, and an unswerving determination commendable in one of such tender years, particularly in one living in such a casual age when correct deportment meant more than the ability to multiply thirteen by thirteen, and swordsmanship served one to better purpose than a knowledge of science.

During the next few years he continued to devote himself to this task, acquiring a vast knowledge of literature, and mastering several languages sufficiently well to produce some meticulous translations during the later years of his life. He became, also, a poet of note, for which posterity has a great deal to thank him ; not perhaps so much for his collection

86 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

of his own works, which, though criticized severely by generations of poets, are, even now, never excluded from any conscientious collection of British poetry; but for his championship, and constant encouragement, of the immortal Dryden who was a fierce satirist, but a loyal friend.

Presently, however, Mulgrave's appetite for knowledge had to share an equal place in his heart with a thirst for military glory, and at the age of seventeen, in 1666, he volunteered to serve against the Dutch, and commanded by Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle, he acquitted himself nobly in his first appearance under fire; subsequently he was rewarded, on the 13th of June, 1667, by receiving the command of an independent troop of horse raised to defend the coasts from the possible invasion by that same enemy.

It was in this year that he received a summons to Parliament. He was then but a stripling of eighteen years, and his appearance there aggravated the Earl of Northumberland, who raised an objection to one so young having a hand in the government of the country, the Earl's objection being sustained.

About this time he discovered, as well he might, in the tumult of military life, and the degeneracy of Charles II's Court, a third pursuit in life, more fascinating, more arduous than either learning or fighting, and he threw himself into a whirlwind of amorous adventures and gallantries customary at that time, with the same thoroughness and enthusiasm as he had displayed in his pursuits of the other two. In his story of his life he frankly confesses that he was neither abstemious nor discriminating in affairs of the heart, and if further proof is needed to support his words it can be found in many of his poems, which are certainly less chaste than rhythmic. Swift says he was known as the Don Juan of the Court of Charles II.

Nevertheless, this extraordinary young man suffered neither his recreations to interfere with his research, nor his taste for gambling to prostitute his genius: soon his obvious merits gained for him high favour in Court, and thus he was

enabled to procure for Dryden, in 1668, the cherished Laureate.

It was soon after this that Mulgrave and Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, had an affair of honour, the piquant details of which are as follows. It was reported to Mulgrave that Wilmot had maliciously linked his name with that of a certain lady. Justly indignant, Sheffield immediately dispatched a mettled friend of his, one Colonel Aston, with a challenge to a duel.

Rochester denied that the gossip was true : investigation substantiated his protestations, and Mulgrave soon became convinced that an unfortunate mistake had been made. Such a tame ending was eminently unsatisfactory to the hot-headed youth, who could not, or would not, rest content that his honour was untarnished by the true facts of the case becoming known, so he insisted, notwithstanding, that the challenge should stand, and that Rochester should answer it. Mulgrave's whitewashers—fewer, perhaps, than there might be—argue, rather more gently, that : “ he foolishly thought the mere report obliged him to go on with the quarrel,” doubtless using as a basis for this *apologia*, his own account of the quarrel which he ostentatiously relates in his “ Works,” published after his death by his widow.

Since the continuance of the duel was unavoidable, Rochester, as the challenged, chose to fight on horseback, naming as his second one Mr. Norten, and an appointment was made for the following morning.

When Rochester appeared on the field of combat his opponents were amazed to notice that, instead of being accompanied by the Mr. Norten who was known to all of them, he was seconded by an officer of the life-guards with whom they were unacquainted.

Colonel Aston rightly took an exception to this substitution, more particularly as the life-guardsman was much better mounted than himself, so he raised an objection, whereupon it was agreed they should all fight on foot, so they rode forward, in pairs, toward a convenient field.

Before reaching there Rochester informed Mulgrave that

he had originally chosen to fight on horseback because he was ill with a distemper which made him unfit to fight at all, much less on foot. Upon hearing this, Sheffield was convinced that his opponent was suffering, not from distemper, but cowardice, so in view of the fact that his temper had already been appeased by discovering the falseness of the charge which he had brought against his brother lord, he suggested that the fight need not proceed if Rochester was agreeable to clearing the challenger's character by acknowledging the truth of the affair.

To this arrangement Rochester willingly acquiesced, saying he was glad Mulgrave had not taken advantage of his own weak condition, to which the other "replied that, by such an argument, he had sufficiently tied my hands, upon condition I might call our seconds to be witness of the whole business, which he consented to, and so we parted."

Unfortunately for Rochester this affair of dishonour had a sad sequel. Aston, to protect the good name of his principal, wrote down a true statement of the circumstances, and saw to it that the story was widely circulated. When, as time passed by, none of the statements was either contradicted or resented, it cost Rochester his reputation for bravery, and that the judgment was not ill-merited is confirmed by his behaviour when subsequent challenges were sent him by other gallants of the Court.

Until 1672 Sheffield continued to frequent Court, and, as he himself naïvely informs the readers of his life story, to follow the allurements of pleasure with "too much eagerness." He became a favourite of Charles, and a companion to the gay courtiers of that jovial monarch, establishing a mild reputation for himself as a conversational wit.

Nevertheless, he was undoubtedly superior to the empty-headed and vain-glorious courtiers and coxcombs of the day. He never ceased either to court literary distinction himself or to bestow his valuable patronage upon others of less exalted rank than himself, while, as is only natural to a man of learning, he became a free-thinker in matters of religion.



HENRY BENNET, EARL OF ARLINGTON

From a painting by Sir Peter Lely.

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In 1672 the second Dutch war broke out, and once again his martial spirit, which was never overshadowed by the other two pleasures of his life, was fired. For the second time he went to sea, this time a volunteer under the Duke of York. At the famous battle of Solcbay he behaved so gallantly that, in his report to the King, Lord Ossory gave him much credit, which resulted in the King rewarding with the command of the *Royal Katherine*, which was then considered the best second-rate in the service.

Never neglectful of the people who found favour in his heart, Charles continued to heap honours on the head of the young man. In February, 1673, Sheffield was appointed Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the King, and on the 27th May, 1674, was elected a Knight of the Order of the Garter.

Soon afterward he crossed over to the Continent, went into service under the celebrated Marshal de Turenne, and did not return to England until 1679, when he was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of the County of York, and Governor of Hull, in the place of the Duke of Monmouth who had been banished in disgrace.

It was at this period that Mulgrave aspired to the hand of the Princess Anne, to whom he paid his addresses, doubtless with the efficiency in that art which he had learned so easily in his pursuit of it. His audacity did not displease the Princess, and it is not unlikely that the handsome young Marquis succeeded in making a deep—and lasting—impression.

Biographers of Mulgrave are apt to suggest that his wooing of Anne—if it could be called such—was actuated by ambition rather than attraction, but this seems rather a harsh criticism of his conduct, and not altogether unprejudiced. By this time his ambition, if he had such, excluding his dreams of literary fame, must have been satisfied by the posts which he already held, and it is a moot point whether he would have braved what he, of all people, must have known would be the King's displeasure, unless there was a very strong impulse—

one stronger than ambition—urging him forward to trespass on such dangerous ground, as such it proved.

His indiscretion was not long in reaching the ears of the King : Mulgrave's enemies at Court made sure of this, and either because Charles was genuinely annoyed by his favourite's presumption, or because his pliant nature was moulded by the subtle forgers—and malicious stories—of those same enemies, the result remains that Charles was persuaded to punish Sheffield in a way which must ever remain the blackest blot on the pages of that picturesque but unstable king's history.

Mulgrave, having meanwhile been deprived of his offices, volunteered to command an expedition to relieve Tangiers, at that time besieged by the Moors. This was too good an opportunity for his rivals to let pass—for it cannot be conceived that Charles was wholly to blame. The Earl was granted the command, but ordered to proceed to sea in a leaky boat which was known to be incapable of weathering heavy seas.

It says much for Mulgrave's pride and courage that he did not hesitate to carry out his orders, although he did his utmost to dissuade others from joining him—and mostly succeeded. The one notable exception, who insisted on remaining, was the Earl of Plymouth, natural son of the reigning King !

It is incredible that a man could be party to such a vile plot so infamous that to obtain revenge on one man, Charles was prepared not only to risk the lives of the whole company on board, including his own son, but as a direct consequence, to jeopardize the immediate relief of the besieged city of Tangiers.

Fortunately the plot, if it can conceivably be accepted as such, miscarried. The weather remained favourable throughout the entire voyage, and what water was shipped, was as quickly discharged by the expedient of keeping the pumps constantly at work. In due course the expedition reached its destination, and the Moors, at the first glimpse of the English Army, beat a hasty retreat.

So far as Mulgrave's enemies at home were concerned, their plot for his destruction had for a sequel a boomerang effect. Mulgrave returned to England, crowned with success, and the variable affections of the King, which were at once so shallow and yet so deep, swung round again in favour of the triumphant poet, who had devoted much of his time on board the leaky boat to his writing, with very tangible results.

Finding His Majesty once again good-humoured toward him, Mulgrave forgot his natural resentment and chagrin at the treatment which had been meted out to him, and displayed toward the royal family the affection and loyalty which he had always possessed, and which, subsequently, was put to the test and not found wanting.

The friendship between Charles and Mulgrave having been revived, nothing more served to mar it, until the death of the King, in 1685, when Mulgrave eagerly transferred his allegiance to James, with whom he had long been in a state of familiar friendship, and to whom he proved far more loyal than many of his fellow-courtiers.

Upon the accession of James to the throne he was sworn of the Privy Council, and on the following 20th of October was appointed Lord Chamberlain of the Household.

On 22nd November, 1686, out of his sincere zeal for his master, he succeeded Rochester on the reconstituted Court of High Commission. After the Revolution he was attacked for this step, and for a little while stood in some danger of suffering for his assistance in an illegality. He excused himself by pleading that he was unaware of the illegality of the Court, and just at a most convenient moment he found a friend, where, doubtless, he least expected it, in Dr. Tillotsen, then Dean of Canterbury, who generously interceded on his behalf, and was successful in procuring his pardon.

It is most likely that Mulgrave, at the time, really did not realize the mistake he was making in taking a seat on the Ecclesiastical Commission; although he was prepared to go to any lengths to serve his royal friend, just as it was his personal regard for the King that urged him to oppose all

such imprudent slips which in his clear-sightedness, he foresaw would inevitably lead to James's ruin.

At the risk of incurring the King's wrath, he openly warned James of his dangerous readiness to follow the Roman Catholic lead, and this even though Mulgrave himself was a Catholic.

Sandford says : " The Earls of Mulgrave and Middleton, never the least tainted with being either false or factious, yet the first of them, not only in execution of his office* assisted openly all the Protestant clergy, but absented himself from all their councils : and both of them, in their own justification, took all occasions of deriding the ill-advice of the Papists."

Incautious in his services on the King's behalf ; not hesitating to associate himself with the many unpopular measures which James thought fit to carry through, and insinuating that he had a strong inclination toward Romanism ; it is consistent with his character, and with his previous leaning toward free-thought in religious matters, that he did not carry his acknowledgment to Rome any further than vague hints as to his beliefs, and an occasional mass when he attended the King.

Meanwhile, despite the best efforts of Mulgrave to direct the King toward more rational conduct, the bigoted and head-strong James continued to enrage his people, until their patience was exhausted. Protestant interests determined to overthrow the Throne, and to offer the Crown to William of Orange.

For this purpose, one day in June, 1688, seven noblemen met in a Norman Crypt, beneath the halls of the stately Manor House, Hurley-on-Thames, and signed and despatched the " Invitation," to Prince William. Among them was William Cavendish, Earl of Devonshire, the same who, some years afterward, was to rent Arlington House from the Duchess of Grafton.

At first there had been a design of associating Mulgrave with this movement, but, fortunately, the Earl of Shrewsbury

* Lord Chamberlain.

discouraged the suggestion by declaring that, in his opinion, Mulgrave was too loyal to James to concur ; to which good judgment there was, subsequently, a sequel, when King William informed Mulgrave of the proposal, and asked him what he would have done had he been approached on the subject.

To this question Mulgrave answered : " Sire, I would have discovered it to the King whom I then served."

William replied : " I cannot blame you."

Presumably it would be pertinent to wonder whether either of these gentlemen were keeping strictly to the unvarnished truth !

The invitation having been sent and accepted with alacrity, the Revolution broke out in 1689. Realizing he was helpless to stem the tide of popular opinion, Mulgrave could do nothing else but yield to the exigency of the occasion, but even then he remained with James in London until the King fled. When the news of his capture in Kent reached London it was Mulgrave who introduced the King's messenger to the Upper House, and prevailed on the members to send Lord Feversham to the assistance of James. Moreover, he once again revealed his personal courage and his natural tact by going to the aid of the Spanish Ambassador, when the mob demolished that gentleman's house. He escorted him to Whitehall, where he paid the diplomat considerable honour. By doing this he was successful in diverting any possible friction which might have occurred with the Spanish Court, and was thanked by both James and William for this service.

Under the new government the Earl had no employ for some years, though on the establishment of the revolutionary government he had voted for associating William with Mary on the throne. Soon after this he became the leader of the Tory party, and distinguished himself by his masterly opposition to the Court, particularly so, when supporting the claim of the lords to assess their own estates for the land tax.

94 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

Irresponsible Burnet describes his speech, with regard to argument and eloquence : " beyond anything I ever heard in that house."

In 1693, however, he began to incline toward the Government, though toward the King himself he was still as unfriendly as ever, upon whom he looked with malevolence, and contempt, the depth of which may be gauged by some of his poems, which he used to good advantage.

He opposed the Triennial Bill which he had formerly supported, joined with Halifax and Shrewsbury in protesting against the renewal of the censorship of the Press, and early in 1694 revealed a still more decided disposition to support the Government.

Whether his changed views earned him a just—or unjust—reward, or whether the wink which is as good as a nod to a blind horse had been suggestively implied, the fact remains that on the 3rd May, 1694, he was made a Privy Councillor : with a pension of £3000 a year, which represented more than a welcome addition to his income, his affairs being considerably embarrassed at that time, while a week later he was created Marquis of Normanby, in the County of Lincoln.

It is said that, before this happened, the King sent for him, and after some preliminary diplomacy, suggested the offer of an additional title, with an annual pension, and a place in the Cabinet Council. These " Mulgrave declined with many thanks for intended favours, and asked, with humblest submission, what His Majesty expected in return, adding that he could not deny but that he was engaged in assisting those bills which His Majesty did not at present approve of. He was sorry His Majesty did not, but whether he had the honour or not of serving him, he could not give them up, but must assist their success to his utmost ability." It says much for his reputation at Court that, under the circumstances, he should have been freely granted the honours which he had refused to accept.

Notwithstanding these favours he remained steadfast to his principles : he continued to oppose strongly the Bill for

Triennial Parliaments, and never ceased to exert his utmost vigour to establish biennial parliaments, and carry through the Treason Bill.

On the following 23rd of June he was admitted to the Cabinet Council : a few months later, in November, he was temporarily constituted Speaker of the House of Lords in place of the Lord-Keeper, Sir John Somers, who was indisposed.

In 1696 Mulgrave, or Normanby as he now was, proved himself still unforgiving to his Monarch. When Robert Charnock's plot was disclosed, certain patriotic citizens founded an association for the purpose of binding the members to sign a document, pledging themselves to support the holder of the throne in the event of the Jacobites rising.

This was introduced into Parliament, but quite a number of Tory peers in the Upper House declined to sign it, for, in doing so, they were required to declare William their "rightful and lawful King."

In face of this opposition, this phrase was altered so that their consciences should not be infringed, but among those who still refused to pledge themselves, Normanby was the most conspicuous. In consequence of this rebellious spirit he was dismissed from the Privy Council, whereupon he immediately resumed his former, spirited opposition.

He can scarcely be criticized for the apparent ungratefulness to the King who had treated him so liberally, for it must not be forgotten that, whatever were Normanby's vices, at least it must be granted that loyalty to the Stuarts headed the list of his virtues.

Charles II had been his friend, James II his bosom companion. He would have proved himself most unworthy if he had so easily cast off his old attachments and his pleasant memories of the days when he had fought under the Stuarts, and been favoured by them. If William, in his turn, honoured Mulgrave, by the bestowal of titles and pensions, it is a moot point as to whether or no in doing so, he was prompted by any other motives than that of silencing opposition.

96 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

During the rest of King William's life Mulgrave maintained his attitude of dogged opposition to the Throne, and to the Whig Government. He strenuously fought the attainder of Sir John Fenwicke, and was no less bitter against the famous Act of Settlement in 1701.

In 1702 William died. That this event commenced a new and affluent chapter in the life of Normanby can be surmised by the recollection that, years previously, he had aspired to the hand of Princess Anne who now, by a strange twist of fortune, and politics, was proclaimed Queen of England, in succession to her sister, Mary, and her husband, William III.



JAMES II

From a painting by G. Kneller.

CHAPTER IX

BUCKINGHAM HOUSE (CONTINUED)

ANNE had not forgotten her erstwhile lover. Immediately upon her accession she singled him out for favour. First of all he was sworn a member of the Privy Council : soon afterward he was appointed Lord-Lieutenant and *Custos Rotulorum* of North Riding of Yorkshire, then he became one of the Commissioners to treat with the Scots over the Union between Scotland and England, and after that one of the Governors of Charter House. On the 9th of March, 1703, he was given a dukedom, becoming Duke of Normanby, and on the 23rd of the same month, he was created Duke of Buckingham,* the title having become extinct.

Nevertheless, not even Anne's warm friendship for him was sufficient to sustain him against the increasing majorities of the all-conquering Whigs, and early in 1703 it became necessary for him to resign.

Jesse says : " Out of favour because of the Whigs, he later petulantly threw up the office of Privy Seal, and used his pen to attack the Consort, Prince George of Denmark," but Johnson has rather a different version to tell ; that Buckingham resigned the Privy Seal because of his jealousy of the rising honour of the Duke of Marlborough, to whose influence the Queen was gradually succumbing.

Possibly there is a foundation of truth in both these statements, but taking into consideration his pride, and his

* There has been considerable controversy as to whether Mulgrave was created Duke of Buckinghamshire, and not Buckingham, but the evidence appears to point to the latter title.

98 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

loyalty, also Johnson's evident dislike for his character, based mostly on Buckingham's moral delinquencies, the impartial—but sometimes mistaken—compilers of the *National Biography* have expressed themselves more aptly than the others by stating simply "he was compelled to resign his appointments by the growing ascendancy of the Whigs."

Buckingham's next move, however, is one that certainly does him no credit, and suggests that political life had served—as is all too often the case—to blunt some of the finer feelings, for he joined the discontented Tories in a movement extremely offensive to his Queen, of inviting the Princess Sophia, (Electress of Hanover, and heir-apparent to the throne) to England.

This move was nothing but a mere political intrigue which the Tories brought about trusting to embarrass the Whigs by manœuvring them into a position in which they had to vote either against the wishes of the Queen, or else against their own convictions.

They forgot their Queen was also a woman. Nothing could have hurt her more than this, to her, objectionable proposal, at the debate on which she herself was present. She considered she had been slighted, and possibly, if it were not for the fact of the Whigs, in their turn, offending her, she might never have forgiven the Tories.

Historians, from time to time, have cast doubt upon the story of Mulgrave's early attachment to Princess Anne, and her reciprocation of his advances, but in the light of subsequent happenings their efforts are unconvincing, for it would be hard to reconcile Anne's sentiments toward Buckingham with any other than those of genuine affection, for as he had once wooed her, now she retaliated by wooing him, with as little success.

Feeling the need for her old friend she offered Buckingham no less an office than that of the Chancellorship, which he refused, probably shamed by her generosity, for meanwhile he had been in correspondence with the Electress, and had "made her the most fervent protestation of devotion to

her cause, and beseeching her to send over a secret agent to treat with his party."

If it were indeed shame, it is significant that soon afterward he retired temporarily from politics, and what is yet another coincidence in a history full of coincidences, during his absence from the political arena, he did what the Earl of Arlington did—he built. Moreover, work which he now directed was upon a new house which he had erected for himself on the actual site of Arlington House, he having bought the property from the Duchess of Grafton.

As has been seen, when King William sat upon the Throne, Buckingham was in sore need of the pension of £3000 which was granted him by that Monarch. That was in 1694. Evidently the embarrassment, from which he was supposed to have been suffering at that time, must have been very temporary, or, during the succeeding eleven years, he must have inherited, or otherwise secured, a substantial fortune, for, having purchased the Arlington property, he proceeded to raze Arlington House, and to build upon its site a magnificent and princely mansion.

The original Goring House had little or no surrounding property until the Earl of Norwich was granted the Mulberry Garden. This made the grounds attached to Goring House not inconsiderable, but nevertheless, in 1681, Arlington still further enlarged the property by the purchase of land from Sir Thomas Grosvenor.

It might well be thought that Buckingham would have been content with the size of the estate, but that he was not is proved by the fact that, to complete and enlarge the Buckingham estate, he was granted, by the forgiving Anne, Crown land to the extent of 2 rods and 9 perches, actually, a slice out of St. James's Park!

Why Buckingham should not have rested content with the Arlington estate is, perhaps, less a mystery than Anne's repeated generosity, and unfailing readiness to forgive the man who had ill-repaid her previous kindnesses: at any rate it is more easy to find an explanation to the first query, for

early in 1705 Buckingham married for the third time,—his two previous wives having died without issue—and it is highly possible that the eccentric Duchess of Buckingham, with her inborn love of pomp and princely magnificence, was behind her ducal husband in his eager grasping for further favour.

This third wife of the Duke of Buckingham was a most fantastic character, being Catherine Darnley, illegitimate daughter of James II by the celebrated Catherine Sedley, Countess of Dorchester. She was, then, a half-sister, on the left side, of the Queen herself !

Whether Anne accepted the marriage as a compliment to herself is obscure, but one is inclined to believe that she was not ill-pleased, for she received the Duchess, and allowed the Duke to kiss her hand on the occasion of the ceremony.

In due course the house was finished, and named Buckingham House, and it was not long before it was recognized as the most beautiful mansion in London : “ not that it is in fact the most beautiful,” says Seymour, “ but because it appears so, an advantage derived only from its situation, and the liberty it allows the spectator of seeing it from whatever point of view he pleases.”

The estate attracted considerable attention, consequently there are several descriptions extant, having been penned, some by biographers, some by historians, and mostly by surveyors, but finest of all these, in intimacy, correctness, and style, is the famous narration of the owner himself, who, in a letter to the Duke of Shrewsbury, depicted Buckingham House in all its magnificence ; a piece of writing which, from the conventional point of view, equals, though it does not surpass, the Latin poem of Dryden’s, already quoted.

This letter, in whole, and in parts, has been published again and again : in fact it would have been foolish of the surveyors to have ignored it, for, obviously, they could neither better nor contradict Buckingham’s graphic sketch, and it would be an incomplete history which did not include this epistle.

“ I rise now in summer, about seven o'clock, a very large bedchamber (entirely quiet, high and free from the early sun) to walk in the garden, or if raining, in a Salon filled with pictures, some good, but none disagreeable ; there also, in a row above them, I have so many portraits of famous persons in several kinds, as are enough to excite ambition in any man less lazy, or less at ease, than myself.

“ Instead of a little dosing closet (according to the unwholesome custom of most people) I choose this spacious room, for all my small affairs, reading books or writing letters ; where I am never in the least tired, by the help of stretching my legs sometimes in so long a room, and by looking into the pleasantest part in the world just underneath.

“ Visits after a certain hour, are not to be avoided, some of which I own a little fatiguing (though thanks to the town's laziness they come pretty late) if the garden were not so near, as to give a seasonable refreshment between those ceremonious interruptions. And I am more sorry than my coachman himself if I am forced to go abroad any part of the morning. For though my garden is such, as by not pretending to rarities or curiosities, has nothing in it to inveigh one's thoughts, yet by the advantage of situation and prospect it is able to suggest the noblest that can be, in presenting at once to view a vast Town, a Palace, and a magnificent Cathedral. I confess the last with all its splendour, has less share in exciting my devotion, than the most common snail in my garden. For though I am apt to be sincerely devout in any sort of religious assemblies, from the very best (that of our own Church) even to those of Jews, Turks and Indians, yet the works of nature appear to me the better sort of sermons, and every flower contains in it the most edifying rhetorick to fill us with admiration of its omnipotent Creator.

“ After I have dined (either agreeably with friends, or at worst with better company than your country neigh-

bours) I drive away to a Place (Marybone) of air and exercise ; which some constitutions are in absolute need of : agitation of the body, and diversion of the mind, being a composition for health above all the skill of Hippocrates.

“ The small distance of this place from London, is just enough for recovering my weariness, and recruiting my spirits, so as to make me fitter than before I set out, for either business or pleasure. At the mentioning the last of these, methinks I see you smile, but I confess myself so changed (which you maliciously, I know, will call decayed) as to my former enchanting delights, that the company I commonly find at home is agreeable enough to make me conclude the evening on a delightful Terrace, or in a Place free from late visits, except of familiar acquaintances.

“ By this account you will see, that most of my time is conjugally spent at home, and consequently you will blame my laziness more than ever, for not employing it in a way, which your partiality is wont to think me capable of. Therefore I am obliged to go on with this trifling description, as some excuse for my idleness. But how such a description itself is excusable is what I should be very much in pain about, if I thought any body could see it besides your self, who are too good a judge of all things to mistake a friend’s compliance in a private letter, for the least touch of Vanity.

“ The Avenues to the house are along St. James’s Park, through rows of goodly elms on one hand and gay flourishing lines on the other, that for coaches, this for walking ; with the Mall lying between them. This reaches to my iron palisade that encompasses a square court, which has in its midst a great bason with statues and water works, and from its entrance, rises all the way imperceptibly till we mount to a Terrace in the front of a large Hall, paved with square white stones mixed with a dark-coloured marble, the walls of it covered with a sett

of pictures done in the school of Raphael. Out of this, on the right hand, we go into a parlour 33 foot by 39, with a niche 15 foot broad for a Buvette, paved with white marble, and placed within an arch, with Pilasters of diverse colours, the upper part of which as high as the ceiling is painted by Ricci.

“ From hence we pass through a suite of large rooms, into a bedchamber of 34 foot by 27, within it a large closet which opens out into a green-house.

“ On the upper hand of the hall are three stone arches supported by Corinthian pillars, under one of which we go up eight and forty steps, ten foot broad, each step of one entire Portland stone. These stairs, by the help of two resting places, are so very easy there is no need of leaning on the iron balluster. The walls are painted with the story of Dido ; whom though the Poet was obliged to dispatch away mournfully in order to make room for Lavinia, the better-natured Painter has brought no further than to that fatal Cave, where the lovers appear just entering, and languishing with desire.

“ The roof of this staircase, which is 55 foot from the ground, is of 40 foot by 36, filled with the figures of Gods and Goddesses, the midst is Juno, condescending to beg assistance from Venus, to bring about a marriage which the fates intended should be the ruin of her own darling Queen and People. By which that sublime Poet wisely intimates, that we should never be over-eager for any thing, either in our pursuits, or our prayers, lest what we endeavour or ask too violently for our interest, should be granted us by Providence only in order to our ruine.

“ The bas-reliefs and little squares above, are all episodical paintings of the same story. And the largeness of the whole has admitted of a sure remedy against any decay of the colours from saltpetre in the wall, by making another of oak-laths four inches within it, and so primed over like a picture.

“ From a wide landing-place on the stairs-heads, a

great double-door opens into an apartment of the same dimensions with that below, only three foot higher. Notwithstanding which, it would appear too low, if the higher Salon had not been divided from it. The first room of this floor has within it a closet of original pictures which yet are not so entertaining as the delightful prospect from the windows. Out of the second room a pair of great doors give entrance into the Salon, which is 35 foot high, 36 broad and 45 long. In the midst of its roof a round picture of Gentilefchi, 18 foot in diameter, represents the Muses playing in comfort to Apollo, lying along on a cloud to hear them. The rest of the room is adorned with paintings relating to Arts and Science, and underneath divers original pictures hang all in good lights, by the help of an upper-row of windows which drown the glaring.

“Most of this seems appertaining to parade, and therefore I am glad to leave it to describe the rest, which is all for conveniency. As first, a covered passage from the kitchen without doors; and another door to the cellars and all the offices within. Near this, a large and lightsome backstairs leads up to such an entry above, as secures our private bedchambers both from noise and cold. Here we have necessary dressing rooms, servants’ rooms, and closets, from which are the pleasantest views of all the house, with a little door for communication betwixt the private apartment and the great one.

“These stairs, and those of the same kind at the other end of the house, carry us up to the highest story, fitted for the women and children, with the floors so contrived as to prevent all noise over my wife’s head, during the mysteries of Lucina.

“In mentioning the court at first I forgot the two wings in it, built on stone arches, which join the house by corridors supported on Ionic pillars. In one of these wings is a large kitchen 30 foot high, with an open cupola on the top; near it a larder, brew-house and laundry,



JOHN SHEFFIELD, FIRST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM
From a painting by G. Kneller.

with rooms over them for servants, the upper sort of servants are lodged in the other wing, which has also two wardrobes and a storeroom for fruit : On the top of all a leaden cistern holding fifty tuns of water, driven up by an engine from the Thames, supplies all the water-works in the courts and gardens, which lie quite round the house, through one of which a grass walk conducts to the stables, built round a court, with six coach houses and 40 stalls.

“ I’ll add but one thing, before I carry you into the garden, and that is about walking, too, but ’tis on the top of all the house ; which being covered with smooth mill’d lead, and defended by a parapet of ballusters from all apprehension as well as danger, entertains the eye with a far distant prospect of hills and dales, and a near one of parks and gardens. To these gardens we go down from the house by seven steps, into a gravel walk that reaches across the whole garden, with a covered arbour at each end of it. Another of 30 foot broad leads from the front of the house, and lies between two groves of tall lime trees planted in several equal ranks upon a carpet of grass ; the outsides of these groves are bordered with tubs of Bays and Orange-trees.

“ At the end of this broad walk, you go up to a Terrace 400 paces long, with a large Semicircle in the middle, from whence is beheld the Queen’s two parks, and a great part of Surrey ; then going down a few steps you walk on the banks of a canal 600 yards long, and 17 broad, with two rows of Limes on each side.

“ On one side of this Terrace a Wall covered with Roses and Jassemynes is made low to admit the view of a meadow full of cattle just under it, (no disagreeable object in the midst of a great City) and at each end a descent into parterres with fountains and water-works.

“ From the biggest of these parterres we pass into a little square garden that has a fountain in the middle, and two green houses on the sides, with a convenient bathing

apartment in one of them, and near another part of it lies a flower garden. Below all this, a kitchen-garden full of the best sorts of fruit, has several walks in it fit for the coldest weather.

“Thus I have done with a tedious description : Only one thing I forgot, though of more satisfaction to me than all the rest, which I fancy you guess already, and 'tis the little closet of Books at the end of that green-house which joins the best apartment, which besides their being so very near, are ranked in such a method, that by its mark a very Irish footman may fetch any book I want.

“Under the windows of this closet and green-house is a little wilderness full of black birds and nightingales. The Trees, though planted by myself, require lopping already, to prevent their hindering the view of that fine canal in the Park.

“After all this, to a friend I'll expose my weakness, as an instance of the mind's unquietness under the most pleasing enjoyments. I am oftener missing a pretty gallery in the old house I pulled down, than pleased with a Salon which I built in its stead, though a thousand times better in all manner of respects.”

CHAPTER X

BUCKINGHAM HOUSE (CONTINUED)

IT must not be imagined that Buckingham House did not have its critics. "The parts which compose this pile are neither new nor surprising," writes one; "the proportions are not absolutely perfect, the windows being remarkably too large and numerous, and the decorations seem poor and trivial, the Statues at the top are wretched, and rather load than adorn the building; the Colonnade which leads to the wings, stuck on to the House without any plea for its connection, and the wings are both miserable in themselves, and in no way akin to the house they belong to. Upon the whole, though, it must be confessed it has the appearance of taste and design, and if it is not perfect, there are very few houses that are more so. The Duke's judgment is certainly to be applauded much, for choosing his ground so well. It is owing to him that the house has at once the advantage of a triple vista along the Mall, the air of Constitution Hill, the Prospect of Chelsea Fields, terminated with the Hills of Surrey, and a most delightful view of the Canal, with the landscape on either side, and the Banqueting House to finish and adorn the whole."

On the other hand, the description reads :

"A site not to be contemned by the greatest monarch. It was . . . rebuilt . . . upon the grove near the place where the old foundation stood—in short the whole structure is spacious, rich and beautiful, but especially in the finishing and furniture. The house is now in the occupation of the Duke of Buckingham. It has a spacious Court on

108 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

its easterly side, fenced with a handsome wall, and a beautiful iron gate, where the Duke's coronet, arms, garter and George are exquisitely represented in iron."

As lengthy as is Buckingham's letter to his fellow-Duke, and as pithy as are the two contemporary descriptions, nevertheless, they can scarcely claim to be a complete survey of the house. For instance, not one of them mentions the mottoes which His Grace had affixed to each side of the house, as follows :

(On the East side) Sic siti Lactantur Lares.

(On the South side) Spectatos fastidiosus sibi inolestus.

(On the West side) Rus in Urbe.

(On the North side) Lenté sacipe, citó perface.

of which the author of "London in Miniature," has the ensuing anecdote :

"Some ladies perusing the Motto affixed on the East Front, one of them desired a Gentleman, that was standing by, to English it, who immediately gratified their curiosity by reading it in this manner :

Bald is the Thing on which no Hair is,

which presently dismissed the fair spectators, with vivid blushes in their countenances."

The motto referred to above appears in the picture facing page 112.

The same writer has several other stories to tell of Buckingham House.

"The structure has occasioned several witty pieces," he writes. "Not long after the House was finished, the Duke, walking round it one morning, to view the Building, found this satirical line affixed to the South Gate, in Capital Letters, on a large Board :

This is the house that Jack built.

The poignancy of which Sarcasm so affected his Grace that

he often declared, he had rather have been the Author of that witty line than master of the whole structure."

Buckingham must have had a finely developed sense of humour—and the author of this anecdote more belief in the veracity of his Grace than the present writer !

Apparently the attaching of anonymous messages to mansion gates must have been a recognized amusement in those days, for another time the following lines were seen :

The Walls are thick but the Family's thin,
The Gods are without and the Devil within,

While another gentleman of leisure had the pleasure of informing the world that :

Thus situate the Lares are,
'Midst Glades and Vistas in fresh air :
And here they pass their time away,
Dining with Humphry's Duke each day.

.

From the time his house was built until 1710 Buckingham lived a quiet secluded life, at home, but in 1710 the Whig Ministry fell, and with the return of the Tories to power, he was one of the first of the deposed ministers to be reinstated. In September 1710 he was made Lord Steward of the Household, and on the following 12th of June was appointed Lord President of the Council, supporting all the measures of that Ministry, with the exception of the affair of the Catalons, when he laboured hard to obtain better terms for those unfortunate people who had relied entirely upon England for protection.

In 1714 his royal patroness died. By virtue of his post he became, automatically, one of the Lord Justices for governing the kingdom, pending the arrival of George I in England.

This was his last appearance in political life. As soon as the new monarch arrived in England and took charge of affairs Buckingham, whom George heartily disliked, was removed from his posts.

By this time he was sixty-six years of age, and having previously experienced the pleasure of a secluded life in his palatial home, he retired there, and spent the remainder of his years in peaceful study, reading, and writing, altogether leading a life of domestic bliss, vastly different to the life he had lead during his earlier years.

For one thing he had been a confirmed gamester, and the trips to Marybone, which he mentions in the fourth paragraph of his letter to Shrewsbury, far from being gentle drives round the house for the sake of "air and exercise: which some constitutions are in absolute need of," were actually regular visits to the noted gaming house there, the rendezvous of the famous gamblers, and infamous sharpers, of his days.

There he was celebrated both for his high play, and also for the dinner which he used to give to the gamblers at the end of each season, at which he drank his unvarying toast :

" May as many of us as remain unchanged next spring, meet here again."

Coincidentally, this same Marybone (or Marylebone) was, over one hundred years later, leased out, and transformed into Regent's Park, by Nash, the same architect who was to reconstruct Buckingham House.

His inordinate love of women was another of his vices, which, having conquered him when he was a courtier of Charles II, he continued to indulge throughout his life.

Notwithstanding, his character is one which does not deserve the many harsh criticisms which it has received.

Johnson, for instance, says—in words which, having emanated from such a weighty source, have been subsequently repeated by nearly every biographer of Buckingham—" His character is not to be professed as worthy of imitation. . . . His morality was such as naturally proceeds from loose opinions. His sentiments with respect to women he picked up in the Court of Charles, and his principles concerning property were such as a gaming-table supplies. He was

sensual and covetous, and has been defended by an instance of inattention to his affairs, as if a man might not at once be corrupted by avarice and idleness. He is said, however, to have had much tenderness, and to have been very ready to apologize for his violence of passion."

Macky, the spy, is as unkind :

" He is a Nobleman of learning, and good Natured parts, but of no principles. Violent for the High-Church, yet seldom goes to it. In paying his debts, unwilling, and is neither esteemed nor beloved ; for, notwithstanding his great influence at Court, it is certain he hath none in either house of Parliament, or in the country. He is of a middle stature, of a brown complexion, with a sour, lofty look."

Jesse, commenting upon Macky's summing up, adds :

" It has been said that this character is too severe, but as far as posterity has the means of judging, we can only come to the conclusion that he was characterized by many vices, and, apparently, by scarcely a single virtue. The best that can be said of him is, that he was a brave man ; and an agreeable companion. His laugh is described as having been the pleasantest in the world ; and though his temper was passionate, his disposition is said to have been a forgiving one."

One hesitates to contradict such a reliable authority as Jesse, nevertheless ; it is not altogether true to say he had scarcely a single virtue.

Dryden, who knew him well—and who, admittedly had reason to be grateful to Buckingham—has paid him homage in the following lines :

Sharp-judging Adriel, the Muse's friend,
Himself a muse—in Sanhedrin's debate
True to his prince, but not a slave of state.

True to the Stuart cause, Buckingham was indeed, from

first to last, even if he bowed before the Kings and Queens whom, in his eyes, were Pretenders.

Politically there is no comparison between Arlington and he. The first was "thoroughly unscrupulous and self-seeking, without a spark of patriotism, faithless even to a bad cause, and regarding public office solely as a means of procuring pleasure and profit."

Buckingham was not unscrupulous: if he were self-seeking he was no different to any other political man of that age, or this! Patriotic he certainly was: while Arlington pulled the strings which were responsible for the outbreak of the first Dutch war, Buckingham sought only to fight the Dutch on any and every occasion. Arlington built his house with Spanish, Buckingham with English, money.

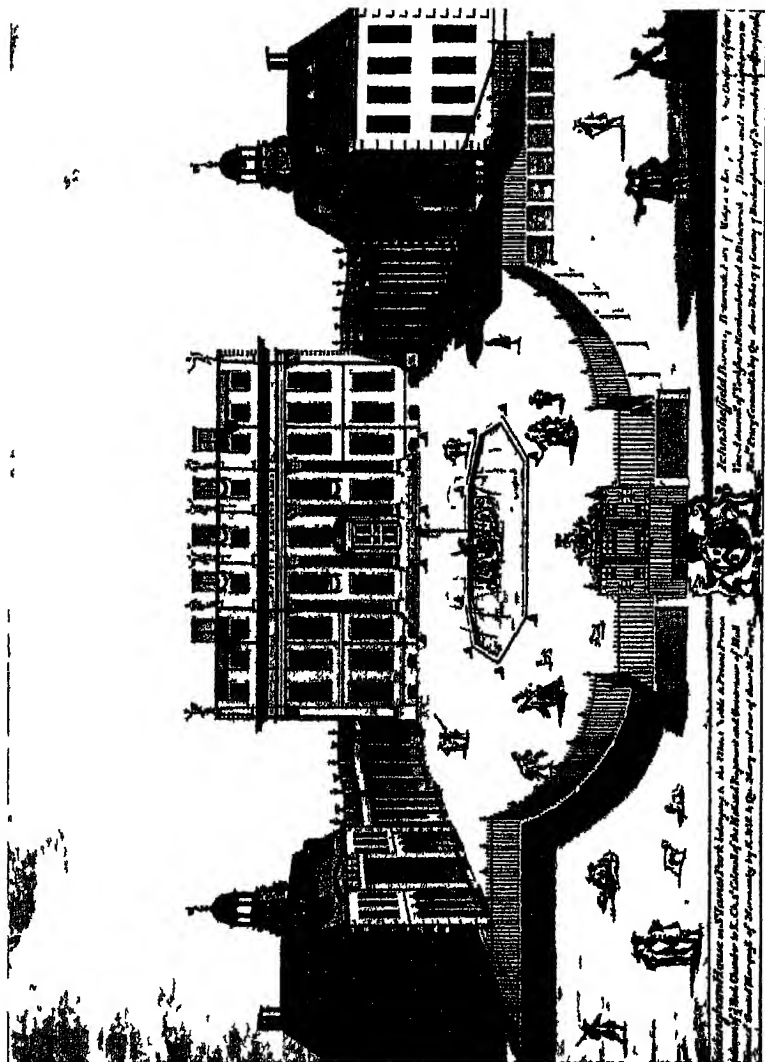
Buckingham might have regarded public office as a means of procuring profit but not pleasure—his pleasures were gambling, women, and study. Nor did he recant, he had the courage of his opinions, and sacrificed office in support of them.

Privately, perhaps, the story is different: Arlington was too cold-blooded to be vicious, but it is to Buckingham's credit, whatever vices he had away from home, his third wife had only good to say of him as a husband.

She admits that there were times when they quarrelled; he in a most passionate way; because they could not agree, she being as self-willed as himself, but when that happened, and she left him alone to give him time to cool, he never stayed away from her for very long, but constantly left his books to follow her about, saying: "Child, you and I should never fall out, and though I still think myself in the right, yet you should have it in your own way," which is a compromise worthy of being repeated!

Ezekiel Sandford is Buckingham's whitewasher.

"Sheffield was tall, and though not perhaps the most exactly shaped, he being thought a little too long waisted, and rather too narrow in his chest and shoulders, yet all



BUCKINGHAM HOUSE

Engraving of Buckingham House, as it appeared in 1793.

together he looked more like a man of quality than most of his rank, who were his contemporaries. He was allowed to be handsome, his face being a regular oval, and all the features of it well proportioned. His countenance had an extraordinary sweetness, joined with a lively and penetrating look, which at first sight struck you with an idea of that great understanding of which he gave the world such various proofs. He had one thing very particular, that laughing heartily, which is seldom advantageous to anybody, was in him uncommonly agreeable.

“As to his manner he was reported not to be good-natured, and to be very haughty and proud, whereas he was really good-natured, and so tender that, upon seeing in the streets any real object of compassion, he has several times been touched to a degree of bringing tears into his eyes. He was affected in the same manner upon reading a melancholy story, or hearing of any friendly and generous behaviour. He was a little passionate, and sometimes quick upon people that had given him no occasion, which was the case sometimes of his most familiar friends, or gentlemen who came freely to visit him, but then he was never easy until he had made them some amends. When he was disobliged by his equals, or even by his King to his thinking not well treated, he carried it pretty high till he had got the better of the first, and prevailed on the other to change his proceedings more to his satisfaction. But except upon such occasions no man on earth could carry himself with more good breeding and humanity.

“He was by many thought not to have made a very good husband to his first and second wives, yet this second had by a former husband two daughters, whom he always treated with the greatest respect and kindness, as they themselves always acknowledged, and after her death he contributed to marry one of her daughters to one of the best matches in the kingdom.

“The liberties which he allowed himself in relation to the ladies are well known. Yet this ought to be

remarked as a proof of his good sense that none of his mistresses could ever prevail upon him to marry foolishly, or ever gained too great an ascendant over him, and some years before his death he showed a good deal of concern for that kind of libertinism into which an impetuosity of temper, too much neglected in his education, together with the prevailing fashion of that Court, in which he lived, had too often hurried him.

“He was by his worst enemies allowed to have lived always very kindly with his last wife. Whenever she was very ill or in danger, he shewed all possible marks of concern, and when there was more than ordinary danger, his servants often found him on his knees in prayer, vowing to give several hundred pounds at a time to charity, which vow he always carried out.

“He was thought to be too saving in money matters, but that opinion was occasioned by little trifling incidents, or rather an humour which indiscreet people knew not how to manage, for in reality he was not to be called covetous. It is certain his affection to his last duchess over balanced his disposition that way, for he always paid her pin-money to a day, and notwithstanding some ill accidents in his fortune might have justified an omission or delay, when his pension from the Crown of £1,200 a year, part of the provision made for her by King James II (the payment of which, by the ill offices of a favourite at Court, had been for some time discontinued) and when by a just representation to Queen Anne by Lord-Treasurer Oxford that pension began to be repaid, he always brought the money to her, desiring her to take what part of it she pleased for her own use, of which she always took one third. But there is a strong indication of his neglecting money matters too much. He lost a great part of his fortune merely through an indolence and unwillingness to take the pains to visit his estates at some distance from London in the space of forty years.

“In a word, he was a good husband, a just and tender

father, a constant zealous friend, and, one may add, the most agreeable of companions."

Naturally, during his lifetime Buckingham made many enemies ; he could not have been a favourite with both Charles II and with Anne without causing rancour in the hearts of others less honoured. Then, too, his political sentiments were not always pleasing to either his own party or to the Whigs.

As George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, derided Arlington in rhyme, so now, an author, whose anonymity is, perhaps, less a secret than the gentleman concerned may have wished, expressed his contempt for John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, in much the same way. The result may be found in one of the volumes of Roxburghe Ballads, and if its language is not of the choicest the blame must rest on the brutal frankness which was the habit of those days.

Bursting with pride the loath'd Imposture swel's
 Prick him he shed's his venom straight and smel's
 But is so lewd, a scribler that he writes
 With as much force to nature as he fights
 Harden'd in shame, tis such a baffled Fop
 That every School-boy whips him like a Top
 And with his arm and heart his brains so weak
 That his starv'd fancy is compell'd to rake
 Among the excrements of others (fun)*
 To make a stinking meal of what they (shun).
 So swine for tasty meat to dunghills run,
 And toss their gruntling snouts up when they've done,
 Against his stars the Coxcomb ever strives
 And to be something they forbid contrives
 With a red Nose, splay-foot and goggle eye,
 A plowman's looby meen, face all awry,
 A filthy breath, and every loathsome mark
 The Punchinello sets up for a spark.
 With equal self conceit he takes up arms,
 But with such vile success his part performs
 That he burlesques the trade, and what is best
 In others, turns like Harlequin to jest.

* Slightly altered to make the words more amenable to modern conventions.

116 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

So have I seen at Smithfield's wondrous fair
 (When all his brother monsters flourish there)
 A lubbard elephant divert the town
 With making legs and shooting off a gun.
 Go where he will he never finds a friend,
 Shame and derision all his steps attend,
 Alike abroad, at home, in Camp and Court,
 This knight o' th' burning pestle makes us sport.

There is to be found in Nichol's Select Collection of Poems, a verse, translated by an unknown writer from the Italian of Fubiro Tofte, concerning an obscure but proud gentleman of fashion. By an obvious, but very extraordinary misprint, the index to this collection indicates, against the name of Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, the number of the page on which this poem appears, thereby suggesting that the proud gentleman concerned is Arlington. The strange coincidence is that it might, so easily, represent the character of the Earl, but, equally so—as far as it is accepted as a caricature—to Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, who, as a writer, was far better known than Arlington.

Suffenus, whom you know, the witty,
 The gay, the talkative, and pretty ;
 And, all his wonders to rehearse,
 The thing which makes a world of verse ;
 I'm certain I should not bely him,
 To say he 'as several thousands by him,
 Yet none deform'd with critic blot,
 Or wrote on vellum to rub out.
 Royal paper ! scarlet strings !
 Gilded backs ! and such fine things !
 But—When you read them, then the witty,
 The Suffenus, and the pretty,
 Is the dullest, heaviest clown,
 So alter'd, he can scarce be known.
 This is strange ! that he who now
 Could so flatter, laugh and bow,
 So much wit, such breeding show,
 Should be so ungentle a wight,
 Whenever he attempts to write,

And yet the wretch is ne'er so pleas'd,
As when he's with the madness seiz'd.

Faith, Sir, we're all deceiv'd alike,
All labour in the same mistake ;
Nor is the best of men so clear
From every folly, but somewhere
Still the Suffenus will appear.
Quickly we others' errors find,
But see not our own load behind.

It is unfortunate, in view of Buckingham being considered somewhat of a minor wit, that there are extant so few examples of his humour. Onslow has left posterity at least one anecdote which is worth repetition.

"The Duke with his usual force and bitterness had one day been inveighing against the Ministry in the House of Lords when, on quitting the House, he was followed by the younger Craggs, a man who, though of very low family, had risen to be Secretary of State, and who was known to be peculiarly sensitive of any allusion to the meanness of his birth.

"Craggs, addressing himself to the Duke with the familiarity which characterised him: 'Come, my Lord Duke, notwithstanding all your seventy to-day, your Grace, who has been so often in administration, must be aware that business must be carried on, and that the old proverb is true, that *the pot must boil.*' 'Why, yes,' retorted the Duke, 'it is an old and a true proverb, but, as you well know, Mr. Secretary, there is as old and as true a one, that, *when the pot boils the scum is uppermost.*' A person who dined with Craggs the same day, assured Onslow that the effects of his discomfiture were visible the whole evening."

That the Duke's judgment, despite "all his seventy," was not yet impaired, was afterward proved, when it was revealed that Craggs was one of the most culpable in the matter relating to the illicit dealings of the notorious South Sea Stock.

Burnet writes that when, in the reign of James II, the

118 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

priests made a set at Buckingham with a view to converting him to Popery, he said : " I am willing to receive instruction, but as it has taken me much pains to believe in God at all, it must be an extraordinary argument that can make me believe that man is quite with God and made God."

On the 24th February, 1721, Buckingham died in his own home, and for the second time the house, which later was to shelter the kings of England, came into the possession of a descendant of the king who conceived and planted the Mulberry Garden.

CHAPTER XI

BUCKINGHAM HOUSE (CONTINUED)

NOW that the Duchess of Buckingham, whose first husband was James Annesley, third Earl of Anglesey, from whom she had obtained a divorce, was left a widow, she was able to indulge herself to the full in her eccentric desire to be recognized as one of royal blood, and to be treated accordingly.

The first thing she did was to arrange that her husband's body should lie in state at Buckingham House for some considerable time before it was conveyed, with the greatest funeral pomp, to Westminster Abbey, where he was interred.

Bishop Atterbury, Dean of Westminster—who was subsequently arrested in 1722, for being a conspirator in one of the numerous Jacobite plots—was the officiating minister. As to what he thought of the ceremony can best be judged by the terms of his letter to Pope :

“ To-morrow I go to the déanery, and I believe I shall stay there till I have said ‘ dust to dust,’ and shut up that last scene of pompous vanity.”

To which Pope replied that at the time of the Duke's funeral, he too would be at the deanery, and would, one evening, moralize with his clerical friend on the vanity of human glory.

Later, according to a request Buckingham had made during his lifetime, a splendid monument was erected to his memory in Henry VII's Chapel, the expenses of which were guaranteed up to the amount of £500, which sum he be-willed for that specific purpose. Moreover, he directed that the following

epitaph, which he himself had written, should be inscribed upon it :

Dubuis sed non improbus vixi
Incertus morior sed inturbatus
 Humanum est nexire et arrare
 Christum adveneror, Deo confido,
 Omnipotenti, benevolentissimo,
 Ens Entuim miserere mibi.

Atterbury, however, with a narrow-mindedness which is too often associated with religion, could not conceive that God was capable of judging human character for Himself, and would not allow the words "Christum adveneror" to be used, holding that the dead man had lived his life as a Theist.

This same inscription suggested to Matthew Prior the following epigram :

"I have no hope," the duke he says, and dies ;
 "In sure and certain hope," the prelate cries ;
 Of these two learned peers, I prythee, say man,
 Who is the lying Knave, the priest or layman ?
 The duke he stands an infidel confest,
 "He's our ' dear brother,' " quoth the lordly priest ;
 The duke, though knave, still " brother dear " he cries
 And who can say the reverend prelate lies ?

As well as the Latin epitaph quoted above, there was also, in English, an inscription which set forth that "In the reign of King Charles II he was General of Dutch troop of horse, Governor of Kingston Castle upon Hull, and First Gentleman of the Bedchamber, in that of King James II, Lord Chamberlain, and in that of Queen Anne, Lord Privy Seal, and President of the Council. He was in youth an excellent poet, and in his more advanced years a fine writer."

His love of poetry is conspicuous by the esteem and regard he had for the two great masters who flourished in his own time, Dryden and Pope, to the first of whom he extended his friendship, even after death, by erecting a monument to his memory. The latter he honoured by writing a poem in his praise.



HENRY FITZROY, FIRST DUKE OF GRAFTON

From a contemporary print

Very soon after Buckingham's death, his widow, for reasons known only to herself, decided to make several alterations to Buckingham House, among them being to remove the Acroteria of figures representing Mercury, Secrecy, Equity, Liberty, etc.

Two years later Buckingham House established, in a sense, its first connection with the present royal family, for the Prince of Wales (afterward George II) and his Princess, treated for the purchase of Buckingham House.

In a letter to Mr. Howard, the Duchess named the amount of purchase-money which she required for the property :

" If their Royal Highnesses will have everything stand as it does, furniture and pictures, I will have £3,000 per annum, both run hazard of being spoiled, and the last, to be sure, will be all to be new bought whenever my son is of age. The quantity the rooms take cannot be well furnished under £10,000 ; but if their Highnesses will permit the pictures all to be removed, and buy the furniture as it will be valued by different people, the house shall go at £2,000—If the Prince and Princess prefer the buying outright, under £60,000 it will not be parted with as it now stands, and all His Majesty's revenue cannot purchase a place so fit for them nor for a less sum—The Princess asked me at the drawing room if I would sell my fine house. I answered her smiling, that I was under no necessity to part with it ; yet, when what I thought was the value of it should be offered, perhaps my prudence might overcome my inclination."

The son whom she mentioned in the letter was Edmund, 2nd Duke of Buckingham and Normanby, who was the only one of the three children which she had presented to her husband who survived.

The negotiations fell through, however, and the Duchess continued to live in her house, aping royalty, and living in a state of enmity with her great rival across the park, Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough.

She was an ardent Jacobite, which, considering her relationship, is not very surprising, and she used all her wiles and artifices to persuade many famous men, among whom was Cardinal Fleury, to join the cause, but with little success. "She got nothing from the Cardinal but compliments and civil excuses, and was laughed at by both Courts for her pompous manner of travelling, in which she affected the state of a sovereign prince."

Among her other eccentric and puerile customs was to celebrate the anniversary of the execution of her grandfather, the Martyr King, by clothing herself in the deepest mourning, and surrounding herself with her women, all of whom had to dress to make themselves appear as black and as dismal as she. She would then seat herself in a chair of state, heavily draped with black, in the great drawing-room at Buckingham House, and thus prepared would receive company—though it is to be assumed only the most ardent and enthusiastic Jacobite cared to be depressed by this farcical solemnity.

Buckingham House she conducted as a mimic Court, never permitting her attendants to sit in her presence, and not being satisfied with the punctilious services which she forcibly exacted from her paid employees, she always endeavoured to persuade her friends and guests to do likewise—with what result is not known, but can be surmised.

She turned her home into a hotbed of Jacobite intrigue, and more than one plot was hatched within the walls of the house, soon to shelter the same line against whom she was conspiring. It is also suggested that, quite unconsciously, she acted as an *agent provocateur* for the Government, for her incautious lips often revealed some of the Jacobite secrets to Sir Robert Walpole, whom she fondly believed she had succeeded in wooing to her cause.

When travelling about the Continent, which she did very often, she maintained a princely magnificence, by which she hoped to impress foreigners that she was of royal blood, and whether or not this theatrical regality duly impressed the people across the Channel, at any rate it pleased her soul,

for love of display was the predominating feature of her character.

The death of Charles I was not the only Stuart anniversary she celebrated rigorously, for every year she crossed to Paris and visited the church where lay the unburied body of James II, her father. Here, at the coffin, she prayed for her father's soul, and wept copiously. According to Jesse, this regular act of devotion was observed by a poor Benedictine of the attached convent, who, one day, brought to the notice of her Grace that the velvet pall which covered the coffin had become threadbare—and so it remained !

It cannot be doubted that when her son died in Rome, on the 30th October, 1735, her mother's heart must have been sorely torn by such a sorrowful event, but it did not prevent her seizing the opportunity of further vainglorious ostentation, and she endeavoured to arrange a funeral even more spectacular than his father's.

For this purpose she humbled her pride, and wrote to the virago across the park, requesting the loan of the triumphal carriage which had carried the human remains of the great warrior to the grave.

The reply of the Duchess of Marlborough was all that Catherine might have expected.

" It carried my Lord Marlborough," she replied, " and shall never be used by anybody else."

" It is of no consequence," blithely wrote back the Duchess of Buckingham, " I have consulted the undertaker, and he tells me I can have a finer for £20."

Horace Walpole, who has a lot to say about Catherine, relates the following story :

" The Duchess of Buckingham who is more mad with pride than any mercer's wife in Bedlam, came the other night to the opera *en princesse*, literally in robes of red velvet and ermine. I must tell you a story of her. Last week she sent for Cori (the prompter to the opera) to pay him for her opera ticket ; he was not at home, but went in

an hour afterwards. She said, did he treat her like a tradeswoman. She would teach him to respect women of her birth—and bade him come the next morning at nine. He came, and she made him wait until eight at night, only sending him an omelet and a bottle of wine. As it was Friday, and he a Catholic, she supposed he did not eat meat. At last she received him in all the form of a princess giving audience to an ambassador. ‘Now,’ she said, ‘she had punished him.’ ”

Even on her death-bed she could not forget the deference which she thought was due to her, and so afraid was she lest any single mark of homage to her own memory and that of her royal parentage might be omitted, that she herself gave detailed directions concerning her funeral.

“Princess Buckingham,” writes Horace Walpole, “is dead or dying. She sent for Mr. Anstis and settled the ceremonial of her burial. On Saturday she was so ill that she feared dying before the pomp was come home. She said: ‘Why don’t they send the canopy for me to see? Let them send it though all the tassels are not finished.’ But yesterday was the greatest stroke of all. She made her ladies vow to her that if she should lie senseless, they would not sit down in the room before she was dead.”

Thus passed away the Duchess of Buckingham in 1742. By her express wish she was buried, with great pomp, by the side of her lord and master, in place of the waxen figure of herself, adorned with jewels, and prepared by her own hands, which had formerly decorated the tomb of Buckingham, as was once the royal fashion, while the property over which she had delighted to queen fell into the hands of one Charles Herbert.

This Charles Herbert was an illegitimate son of the late Duke by a Mrs. Lambert, and possibly no one was more surprised than himself at the sudden swing of fortune which so generously swept the Buckingham estates into his hands, for though his father had willed the estate to him in the event

of Edmund, the legitimate heir, dying, he can scarcely have expected Fate to so arrange matters that Edmund should have died before reaching his majority, or marrying, and propagating heirs of his own.

As has already been seen, however, Edmund, 2nd Duke of Buckingham and Normanby, and 4th Earl of Mulgrave, did not live to inherit the property, and with him died the three titles.

Doubtless the first duke had anticipated this possibility, for his will declared Charles Herbert, one of his three known natural children, his heir in the event of Edmund's decease, on the condition that Charles adopted the surname of Sheffield.

It can readily be conceived that Charles Herbert had no objection to taking this step, and thus, when he inherited Buckingham House, the site of the original Mulberry Garden was occupied for the third time by a person of natural issue, the Duke of Grafton being the first, the Duchess of Buckingham the second, and lastly, Charles Herbert.

Unfortunately little is known of this gentleman other than that in 1755 he was created a baronet, that he married a daughter of General Sabine, and had two children, and finally, that, in 1761, he sold back to the Crown the land which nearly a hundred years previously the Crown had generously given away.

Thus for the first time the home which now shelters the reigning monarch of Great Britain came into the possession of his direct ancestor, and from that day to this the head of the household of Buckingham House has been the titular head of the British Empire.

CHAPTER XII

BUCKINGHAM HOUSE (CONTINUED)

DURING the years which had passed since the first brick of Buckingham House had been laid, the affairs of the United Kingdom had undergone a tremendous change, for a German king had arrived in London to occupy both the throne of England, and—Buckingham House.

As a result of the Act of Settlement, which made it essential for the reigning monarch to join in the communion of the Church of England, it was necessary, on Anne's death, to find a Protestant king to govern the country, and the ultimate choice fell upon George Louis (Gorg Ludwig), Elector of Hanover, who was the son of Sophia, daughter of the Elector Palatine, and Ernest Augustus, First Elector of Hanover, on his mother's side a direct descendant of James I.

In due course George I was reluctantly dragged away from the palace of Herrenhausen, and his German mistresses, eventually arriving in England, where he was crowned King, the British people acknowledging for their monarch a man who was—to reduce to vulgar fractions, or vulgarly to fractions—three-quarters German, one-eighth Dutch, and one-eighth English.

It is scarcely necessary to touch upon either George I or George II, both of whom were crowned, reigned, and passed away while the Duchess of Buckingham occupied Buckingham House, followed by Charles Herbert Sheffield.

King George III commenced his reign in the year 1760. He was the son of Frederick Louis, Prince of Wales, and Augusta, daughter of Frederick II, Duke of Saxe-Gotha—one

of the states which obligingly supplied several prolific consorts to the Hanoverian kings of England, and their princes.

He was born on the 4th of June, 1738, in Norfolk House, St. James's Square, precociously arriving two months before he was expected. The doctors, believing that his rapid progress from nothingness had weakened his constitution so that there was no reason for expecting him to live, advised his parents accordingly, and the baby was christened.

Notwithstanding their pessimism, the doctors did what they could for the child, and engaged a healthy gardener's wife to suckle him. "Like a sensible mother," says Banvard, "she took her charge to bed with her." Apparently this dismayed the royal family as much as it would offend the modern specialist, and they vehemently objected to such vulgar familiarity.

"Nay, nay," answered the foster-mother, "you may nurse the boy yourselves," so, in view of this opposition, the woman was allowed her own way.

Even at such an early age George revealed the first streak of obstinacy, which was to prove so characteristic of him, by ignoring the verdict of the medical advisers, and living ; moreover, far from growing up a weakling, he developed a robust health which never deserted him.

George spent his youth, like that of James I, in an atmosphere of intrigue and jealousy, and almost in seclusion, for with the exception of his brother Edward, he had no young companions of any sort. This was due to the influence of his mother, who feared lest his morals should be corrupted by the contaminating influence of the outside world, and in this, perhaps, she was wise, for that he had bad blood in him is indisputable. His grandfather, "the little Captain," notwithstanding his marriage to a wife whom he loved sincerely, and who reciprocated his feelings, had several mistresses during his life, chief among whom was Madame Walmoden, by whom he was supposed to have had a son, while his great-grandfather, George I, was as dissolute as either the second Charles, or the fourth George, without possessing the charm

128 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

and personality which was their redeeming feature—perhaps their only one.

It is strange that one of the chief characteristics of the Hanoverian line, until the birth of Queen Victoria, was the animosity which every one of the heirs-apparent bore toward their fathers, sentiments which each one, in his turn, expressed toward his male children.

The hatred which George I, and the Prince of Wales, bore toward each other smouldered for years and culminated by the Prince being ordered out of St. James's Palace by his father, after which they were never truly reconciled. The Prince of Wales, when he became George II, was just as little devoted to his eldest son, and the quarrels which ensued between George II and Frederick reflected on the youthful Prince George, for his early education was sadly hindered by the family squabbles.

Dr. Francis Ayscough, who was appointed his preceptor, when George reached the age of seven, did his best, but, doubtless, between the devil and the deep sea, he had little success.

When he was twelve, Lord North was attached to him as governor. Six months later, Frederick, Prince of Wales, died, and George became the Heir-Apparent; after which his grandfather began to take more interest in him. A month after the death of his father he was created Prince of Wales, and Earl of Chester; Lord Harcourt was appointed his governor in the place of North, his preceptor became Dr. Hayter, Bishop of Norwich, while Stone and Scott were designated sub-governor and sub-preceptor respectively.

This ought to have been an extremely satisfactory arrangement; there should have been every hope, now that the father and grandfather of the Prince were no longer in the position to interfere with his education, of the boy assimilating the necessary knowledge which unfortunate princes must, perforce, have crammed into their heads, but George was fated: less than a year later a violent feud broke out between these four men: Harcourt and Hayter declared the other two were



QUEEN MARY
From a painting by P. Lally

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Jacobites, and were instilling their pernicious principles into the mind of their pupil.

In the ensuing struggle the lesser officers won, so the noble Lord and the reverend Bishop retired, to have their places occupied by Lord Waldegrave and Dr. Thomas, Bishop of Peterborough.

In view of these circumstances, and their consequent unsettling influence on the Heir-Apparent, the following anecdote which Banvard relates, is not without interest.

“ The Princess was sitting one day of her early widowhood, pensive and melancholy, her two eldest sons were playing about the room. ‘ Brother,’ said Edward, Duke of York, ‘ when you and I are men grown, you shall be married, and I will keep a mistress.’ ”

“ ‘ Be quiet, Eddie,’ replied the Prince of Wales, ‘ we shall have anger presently for your nonsense. There must be no mistresses at all.’ ”

“ ‘ What you say,’ cried Augusta, ‘ you more need learn your pronouns, as the preceptor bid you do. Can you tell what is a pronoun ? ’ ”

“ ‘ Yes, very well,’ replied Prince Edward, ‘ a pronoun is to a noun what a mistress is to a wife—a substitute and a representative. ’ ”

It would be impossible to vouch for the authenticity of the story, for John Banvard was a citizen of the United States, and his reason for compiling this work was due to a fellow-countryman being rash enough to express a wish to own allegiance to a king, rather than to a president.

This sentiment so shocked Banvard’s republican soul that, in the year 1875 he published a book entitled “ The Private Life of a King,” which set out to expose to the world at large the moral turpitude and utter depravity of a monarch. This work contained a mass of material which the author must painstakingly have culled from every possible source, and that most of the matter does not owe its origin to his fertile but intolerant mind seems proved by the publication within

recent years of a book by a well-known and authoritative writer who has accepted its veracity with a naïve innocence which is as delightful as it was convenient.

On the other hand, Waldegrave maintains that George was high-principled and religious : mostly good-natured and cheerful, but inclined to be obstinate, and when affairs displeased him, sullen. Scott says he was idle, and used to sleep all day.

As soon as George approached a marriageable age, his grandfather, who had himself married one of the Brandenburg-Anspach princesses, proposed as a wife for him, Sophia Caroline Maria, elder daughter of the Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, but his mother, possibly desirous of marrying her boy to one of her own relations, set her mind against the suggestion. To have her own way, she lived up to the family reputation by turning the Prince away from his grandfather ; so once again the King and the Prince of Wales were dis-united.

It was not difficult for Augusta to do this, for about this time George the younger was very much a " mother's boy." When he reached his majority he was offered £40,000 a year, and requested to set up a household of his own. George was not backward in accepting the proffered income, but he refused to leave his mother, and thus angered the King and his Ministers who, having offered the money for the purpose of removing the Prince from Augusta's influence, had the mortification of seeing their bribe wasted, without the advantage of any material gain to themselves.

Meanwhile his mother, once the princess of a petty German Court, remained true to type. She had exaggerated notions of the royal prerogative and was totally unable to appreciate the difference between a constitutional monarch of a democratic people, and an autocratic ruler of a small, warring state ; yet she did her best to inculcate her tenets into the future King of England, and well she succeeded, as after events readily proved.

In this respect Augusta's influence over George was, to a

certain extent, of ultimate harm to his country, but on the whole it must be granted that she manufactured, as a finished article, a silk purse out of material very much akin to a sow's ear, for the majority of the hectoring, bullying, roystering German princes had less morals in the whole vast troop of them than any one of the lowest menials over whom they lorded it.

George I had his Duchess of Kendal, and his Countess of Darlington, George II his Countess of Suffolk, and his Madame Walmoden, but in the life of George III there are no ladies of high title and easy virtue to mar the pages of his conjugal fidelity. To this, if nothing else, the nation must acknowledge its financial indebtedness to Princess Augusta, for the Exchequer never had to pay for the indiscretions of the third George, either by *douceurs* or pensions, to foreign-born favourites.

About this time, soon after George had entered into his twentieth year,* he became involved in a scandal of which, following the example of the scurrilous "Authentic Records of the Court," many writers, including the canting Banvard, have made the most.

There are three leading characters in this intriguing story : George, Prince of Wales, one Axford, and finally, a charming *ingénue*, Hannah Lightfoot, the Fair Quakeress.† Hannah Lightfoot, whom some people persisted in calling Hannah Wheeler, was born in 1730, in the unsalubrious parish of St. John's, Wapping. Two years later her father died, a year later her brother, after which she was adopted by an uncle, Henry Wheeler, who kept a linendraper's shop in the more aristocratic neighbourhood of St. James's Market, which was later pulled down to make room for Regent Street.

Here Hannah took up her abode, living happily, it is to be hoped, with her uncle Henry, and growing up within the Quaker religion. Extraordinarily beautiful, buxom and charming, she made an exquisite picture in the demure habit of a

* According to some authorities, the nineteenth year.

† More often known as the Fair Quaker.

132 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

Quakeress : little wonder, therefore, that the youthful Prince, passing by the shop one day, saw her, and was immediately smitten by her charms—or so the story goes.

There grew up between them a mutual attachment—some say, of a guilty nature—and, on the 11th December, 1753, Hannah Lightfoot was married in a notorious Westminster chapel, if its register is to be believed, to “a person of the name of Axford.”

The next, and final chapter, of this charming episode is recorded in 1756, when, on “Testimony of Denial,” Hannah was expelled from the Society of Friends for having been married by a priest to some person unknown and not of their faith.

From that time forward Hannah was never heard of again, and from this slight basis a number of fables have been created which are as numerous as they are contradictory.

For instance, it has been said that the marriage of Hannah to Axford was arranged by the Princess Dowager and the Ministers of George II, in order to save the Prince from a dangerous entanglement. It has also been said that, immediately after the marriage, she was kidnapped by emissaries of the Prince of Wales, from the very doors of the church—or else it was some weeks later.

Alternatively, it has been suggested that she was legally married to Prince George, and that she bore him several sons and daughters, and that his royal wife, Charlotte, hearing of this before her third child was born, and convinced of the illegality of her own marriage, insisted upon being re-wedded to the King after Hannah's death.

Another story is to the effect that Hannah lived with Prince George either at Peckham, or Knightsbridge, or Kew, and was buried at Islington under another name : that her mother died of a broken heart through not hearing from her daughter, and that, by George III, she had a son who was created Sir Samuel Parks, by Act of Parliament.

It will be seen that there are sufficient theories to “pay your money, and take your choice,” although the many

diverse stories would seem to refute the possibility of the whole affair. Nevertheless, countless writers have taken up the cudgels on behalf of the Fair Quakeress, even so late as 1910, when a book was published seeking to prove the fact of Hannah's marriage to Prince George.

Generally speaking, however, reliable historians are content to accept Mr. Thoms' masterly refutation. In his tract on the Fair Quakeress he has chastised the scandalmongers hip and thigh, and convincingly proved the whole story to be a myth.

In addition to his arguments, he cleverly points out that, at a period when the caricaturists and the lampoonists were directing their heaviest artillery toward the Throne, during the sixty years which followed this alleged affair, there was never a whisper, never a suggestion, that the King married any other woman than the Queen-Consort, or that he kept a mistress.

If it had been known that George, like his direct ancestors, was embroiled in a love intrigue, it is quite certain that Gillray would not have missed an opportunity to introduce a subtle hint of it into his merciless cartoons, nor would that parodist, the scathing Peter Pindar, have been less backward to versify the *amour*, and butcher the King's reputation to make a society diversion.

Another point which must not be forgotten was Augusta's scrupulous guard over the welfare of her chick. It is scarcely likely that she would have been so careful in protecting his virtue from the ladies of the Court, only to relax her precautions concerning those of lesser degree. Waldegrave has already proved that she dominated the Prince, controlled every movement, every hour of his life. How then could the Prince have escaped her unceasing watchfulness, and so have entered into a *liaison* with Hannah Lightfoot?

Moreover, it might be asked, why the Ministers of George II—who were only too anxious to dis sever the Prince from the influence of his mother—should have been so anxious to have separated Hannah from George? With the numerous examples of Ministers controlling the man through his mistress,

it is not unlikely that George II would have seized with avidity the chance of turning the affair to his own advantage, either by exposing the story to Augusta, and hoping to weaken the chains which bound her son to her, or else by attacking the Prince personally.

It would seem that, if George did meet Hannah Lightfoot, his regard for her never caused him to overstep the bounds of propriety, and probably when Hannah married Axford, she disappeared from his life altogether, with no more heart-burning to George, the most moral of the Hanover family so far, than a fond regret at the thought of no more seeing a certain pretty face at the linendraper's shop in St. James's Market.

Prince George was still a bachelor when, on the 25 October, 1760, his grandfather died, and he succeeded to the throne.

CHAPTER XIII

BUCKINGHAM HOUSE (CONCLUDED)

CONSIDERING his early life, his seclusion in Carlton or Leicester House, his laziness, and his ignorance of the outside world, it must be admitted that George faced an undertaking which might well have appalled him with a truly commendable courage, and a determination to do his duty.

He deliberately checked his natural inclination toward indolence, plunged headlong into his task, and tackled it with great industry, becoming an exceedingly busy and managing King, although, as a result of his mother's teaching, he had a prejudiced idea of royal prerogative, which was to be the cause of bitter political strife.

At this period of his life, when he was twenty-two years of age, he was not unhandsome. Fairly tall, he bore himself with a becoming dignity to be expected of his high office, spoke impressively with a cultured voice, and on all public occasions conveyed a true impression of regality.

On the other hand, in private life he was a different man he lived in a homely, and—to those who have exalted notions of royalty—undignified style. He spoke rapidly, gesticulated as he talked, had a habit of asking numberless questions, and finished many sentences with the words, "What? What?"—a characteristic of which many writers have taken advantage.

His accession to the throne was immensely popular, and by a stroke of diplomacy—probably not meant as such—he published a proclamation against immorality which achieved universal approval among a people who, for half a century,

136 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

had looked aghast at the blatant profligacy of a Court, encouraged by the example of the King. He still further endeared himself to his people by surrendering his hereditary revenues, and agreeing to have his Civil list fixed at £800,000 per annum; recommending Parliament to provide that judges' commissions should not expire on the demise of the King; and inserting in his speech for the opening of Parliament, the words :

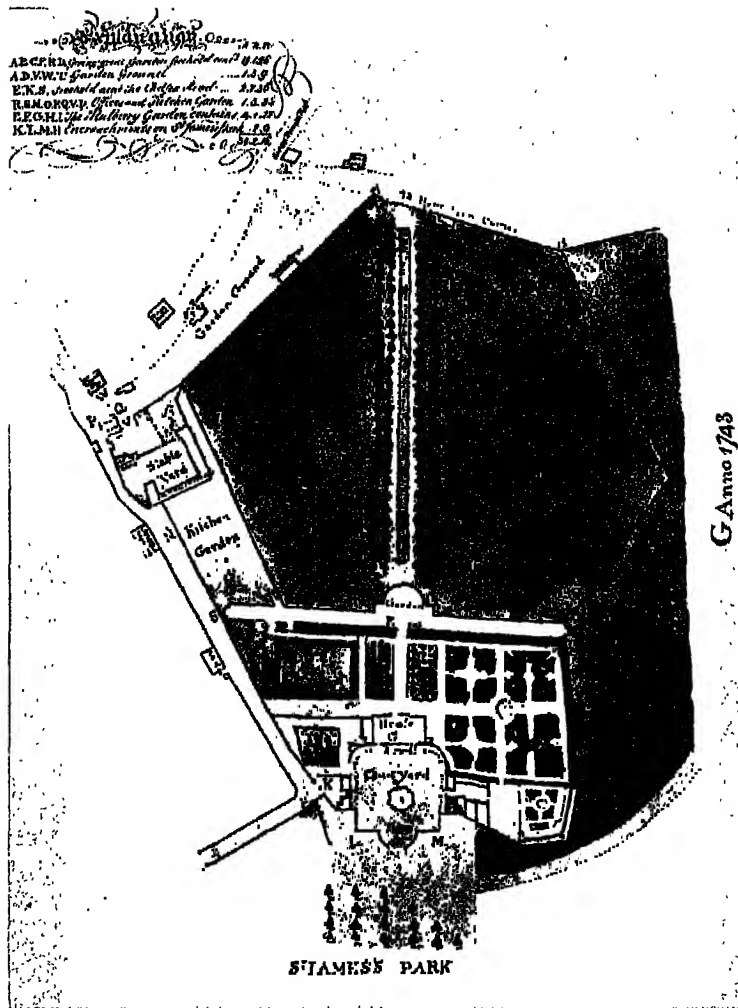
“ Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton,”

which was certainly a privilege to which neither of his predecessors could have laid claim with any truthfulness.

In the summer of 1761, contemporary rumour has it that the youthful King was genuinely attracted by Lady Sarah Lennox, sister of the Duke of Richmond, who used to dress up as a shepherdess whenever the King was known to be *en route* to Hammersmith—which he often was—and made sure to be hay-making in the grounds of Holland House as the King passed by. This attachment never progressed further than this stage, so Colonel David Graeme was despatched to the various Protestant Courts of Europe to find a suitable consort for the King.

She was found in Charlotte Sophia, younger sister of Adolphus Frederick IV, reigning Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. Of her Peter Pindar writes, with insulting familiarity :

A HEN, a farmer's pride and care,
Who lives at W—— or elsewhere,
Once cackl'd in a foreign clime,
And roosted there a length of time.
The Hen was tender, young and brown,
Her feathers soft as cygnets' down,
Her shape was good, her stature slight,
Not tall, nor yet a Bantam quite ;
Her eyes were of a greyish hue,
And, like most Hens, she had two.



PLAN OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM'S ESTATE, 1743
From the Grace Collection.

After the necessary formalities had been performed, the marriage between the Princess Charlotte and King George was arranged, and having announced his intention to his Council, George sent over to Mecklenburg-Strelitz, the Duchess of Ancaster and the Duchess of Hamilton, to conduct the Princess to her new country, while Greenwich was festively adorned to receive the new Queen-Consort in a style worthy of her rank.

During the journey across, the boat on which the royal party travelled was assailed by such terrible weather that it took nine days to cross instead of the customary three, and Lord Anson decided to land at Harwich, with the consequence that there was no official reception, an omission which must have damped the first ardour of the Princess, used to the strict etiquette of her late Court. Moreover, as Mrs. Papendiek naïvely adds, by landing at this port, it necessitated the entry into London of the escorting party via the suburb of Mile End and Whitechapel, "which could not have given . . . the Princess a very exalted notion of the people over whom she had come to reign."

"She was certainly not a beauty," writes the same authority, "but her countenance was very expressive, and showed extreme intelligence; not tall, but of a slight, rather pretty figure; her eyes bright and sparkling with good humour and vivacity; her mouth large, but filled with white and even teeth, and her hair really beautiful."

As soon as his bride arrived in London the King married her in the Chapel of St. James's, at ten o'clock in the evening.

Steady and so bad as old Time,
And just arriving at her prime,
Not flighty nor inclin'd to roam,
As Hens too often do, from home,
The Pullet now became his own,
And sometimes perch'd upon the th—

The King's present to the bride was a pair of bracelets consisting of six rows of picked pearls as large as a full pea;

138 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

the clasps both set round with diamonds ; necklace set with large diamond cross, earrings, and the additional ornaments of the fashion of the day. Beside these, George gave her a diamond hoop ring as a keeper for the wedding-ring, and it is significant of her feelings toward her husband that, subsequently, the Queen never allowed herself to wear any other in addition, although, at times, fashion demanded so.

Another incident which occurred during the marriage is retailed by Walpole, who loves his tit-bits of scandal and gossip, as well as any charlady of the back stairs. According to this prolific writer, when an allusion was made in the service to Abraham and *Sarah*, the King blushed—Walpole has it that George was thinking of Lady Sarah who, at that moment, was dutifully holding up the Queen's train.

The subject of the royal confusion ultimately married Sir Thomas Bambury, and, after his death, Major-General the Hon. George Napier, when she became the mother of the famous Charles Napier.*

Less than two weeks later, George and his Queen were crowned. During the ceremony the King behaved in a manner which excited the admiration of the Court. As their Majesties were approaching to take the Holy Communion, the King whispered to Archbishop Secker, enquiring whether it were necessary for him to divest himself of his crown.

The question put the reverend Archbishop into a quandary, for he was equally at a loss as to what etiquette demanded, so he, in his turn, asked Bishop Pearce, who was no wiser. George, seeing that no one appeared to be aware of what was the custom, decided to settle the matter for himself, and laid aside the crown, "feeling that humility best became such an act of devotion."

Returning to Westminster Hall, after the Coronation, there happened a trivial incident which gave many superstitious people great cause for fear, for the great diamond fell out of

* Horace Walpole also gloefully recounts the tale that one evening when George was watching the celebrated Mrs. Pope act, he muttered aloud to himself, "Ah! she is very like Lady Sarah still."

the King's crown. This was held to be an ominous sign—which proves the futility of superstition, for both he and his wife lived for nearly sixty years afterward, while his reign, not without its dark patches, was anything but one of disaster.

At this time the newly married couple were living in the palace of St. James's. It was here that their first son, George, was born, on the morning of 12th of August, 1762, to the delight of the people who can scarcely have expected Charlotte so soon to be so dutiful a queen and wife. As Peter Pindar says, continuing his story :

A few short months had pass'd away,
When, grateful, she began to lay ;
Egg after egg enrich'd her nest,
All which old Farmer G—— possest.
John Bull to generous views alive,
Was pleas'd to see the Chickens thrive ;
With liberal hand their wants supplied ;
And fed them with a parents' pride.

Between the time that Charlotte laid her first and second eggs, however, there occurred a matter of vast importance to this history, for, as related in the last chapter of Buckingham House, the King bought the Buckingham property from Sir Charles Sheffield, for the sum of £21,000,* a plan of which is to be found facing page 176.

It is rather difficult to understand the reasons which prompted George in this step, but, considering the life which he and Charlotte subsequently lived within its walls, it is more than possible that he did so because both he and his wife were naturally inclined to domesticity, and they wanted a convenient residence to which they could retire when the pomp and formality of St. James's became too much for their peace and quietness.

Both George and Charlotte were extraordinarily alike in some of their personal characteristics. Both were strict

* Some authorities give the figure as £28,000.

upholders of etiquette and all the customs and observances of Court and official life, but, once in their private rooms, they lived entirely at ease, in a manner more favoured by the middle-class than the society with which they mingled.

George was a model of domestic propriety : from that point of view such a King as he had not sat on the throne for many hundreds of years past. Whatever his faults, at least he had one outstanding virtue ; from the day he married Charlotte he loved and cherished her until she died : few men in any status of life have fulfilled their marriage obligations as he did.

On her part Charlotte was not less praiseworthy. Lord Chesterfield has depicted her character most truthfully. " You seem not to know the character of the Queen," he wrote to a friend. " Here it is : she is a good woman, a good wife, a tender mother, and an unmeddling queen. The King loves her as a woman, but, I verily believe, has never spoke one word to her about politics."

It can scarcely be wondered that two such people should seek a private home of their own ; nor is it less surprising that they chose to purchase Buckingham House, situated more than conveniently near St. James's Palace, which the King determined to keep for official occasions.

Having completed the purchase of Buckingham House, George began to make preparations to move. Although he intended to live quietly in his new home, he did not see any reason why he should not be comfortable at the same time : a point which Horace Walpole did not miss :

In a P.S. he adds, to a friend : " I cannot help telling you how comfortable the new disposition of the court is to me : the King and his wife are settled for good and all at Buckingham House : and are stripping the other palaces to furnish it. In short, they have already fetched pictures from Hampton Court, which indicates their never living there."

The pictures referred to by the great correspondent were some works by painters who are now known as the " Old Masters," and among them were the famous cartoons by

Raphael, consisting of seven fine paintings representing : The delivery of the keys to Peter ; the miraculous draught of fishes ; the healing of the cripple at the beautiful gate of the Temple ; the death of Ananias ; Elymas the Sorcerer struck blind ; the people of Lycaonia sacrificing to Paul and Barnabas, and finally Paul preaching to the Athenians.

George also had many alterations made to the house, which, if the critics of those days are to be believed, did anything but improve its appearance.

Noorthouck, for instance, writes of it as follows :

“ In the front it is enclosed with a semicircular sweep of iron rails, which are altered very unhappily from the rails which enclosed it before it became the royal residence. Formerly an elegant pair of gates opened in the middle, but now, though a foot pavement leads up to where an opening is naturally expected in front, all entrance is forbidden, by the rails being oddly continued across without affording an avenue through ! Whoever therefore seeks to enter, must walk round either to the right or left, and in the corners he may perhaps gain admittance.

“ Originally this building had an air of elegant uniformity, but though the front view is not yet damaged, so many irregular additions have been made on each side, as to inspire the spectator with the idea of a country parsonage house, to which every incumbent has added something, one a wash-house, another a stable, another a hen-roost, etc., till the whole is made a mere jumble of patchwork.”

In addition to the alterations referred to above, the King had several new buildings erected, particularly a riding school, and a “ superb library, and stored it in the most ample manner by means of great purchases at home and abroad, and by the addition of several collections, made by his royal predecessors, heretofore deposited in the respective palaces, as well as by those of Queen Caroline, and his Royal Highness the late Duke of Cumberland.”

The library, which subsequently became world-renowned, commenced with the purchase of the collection of Consul Smith, who resided in Venice. On being added to the collection mentioned above, it formed the nucleus of a magnificent library, which, even in those early days, was furnished with the finest authors in various languages.

The increase of the library became one of the King's hobbies : under his guidance it began to assume vast proportions, soon to eclipse any individual possession of the kind. All classes and types of books, together with manuscripts, were added to it, from pious folios down to the offensive pamphlets of those days. It must be said in his favour that, fond though he was of books, and keen to add to the number he already possessed, he gave orders to whomever he commissioned to purchase on his behalf, never to bid against a scholar, a professor, or any person of moderate means who desired a particular book for his own use.

As well as the riding school, and the library, which the King had built, an additional wing was added on the garden side with extensive and convenient offices, while attached were rooms for attendants, and workrooms for the rebinding of books, etc.

In view of the King's fondness for books, it is curious to reflect that His Majesty's taste for literature was considered rather execrable. Shakespeare in particular he disliked, saying he wrote " sad stuff ! "

Another writer of the period, while admitting the mean appearance of the exterior, said : " it contains within, apartments as spacious and commodious as any palace in Europe for state parade." This was indeed so, for while the King's apartments on the ground floor were very plainly furnished, his preference in this respect did not influence the State apartments of the Queen, which were furnished most luxuriously, and hung with fine pictures ; they consisted of the Grand Saloon, subsequently transformed into the Throne Room, where the Queen held her smaller receptions, and an occasional Drawing-Room ; the Crimson Drawing-Room,

opening off the Grand Saloon ; beyond that was a smaller room upholstered in the same glorious, but tiring colour : finally, the Blue Drawing-Room, completing the State apartments.

Among Charlotte's favourite sitting-rooms, were the Green Closet, which was, like the King's rooms, more plainly fitted-up, but made beautiful by Gainsborough's portraits of most of the royal children, which covered the walls ; and the Breakfast-Parlour, overlooking the Gardens. This room was panelled in Japanese wood, and in it was built an organ which Charlotte used to play, and upon which was placed a bust of Handel.

Meanwhile, Parliament passed a Bill providing that, in the event of the Queen surviving the King, she should have the same provision as had the late Queen Caroline, namely an annual pension of £100,000, with Richmond Old Park and Somerset House.

Toward the end of May 1763 it was seen that the alterations of Buckingham House were approaching completion, the final date being given as the 6th of June. In view of this it was decided to celebrate the King's birthday on this day, instead of the 4th, by holding a house-warming party at Buckingham House.

Charlotte, having ideas of her own, coaxed her husband to go back for a few days to St. James's Palace, while she remained behind at their new home. In two days, and with the utmost secrecy, Charlotte made her preparations.

On the night of the 6th, George was summoned by his spouse to return. Charlotte met him, and presently took him to a room on the upper floor which faced the Gardens, and there drew back the shutters of the windows, revealing to George the preparations she had arranged.

It was a wonderful and entrancing sight which met his eyes, for, astonished and delighted, he gazed below at a magnificent temple and bridge which had been erected in the garden, and which were illuminated by over four thousand glass lamps. In front of the temple was a large painting representing the King giving peace to all parts of the earth—

144 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

though whether the Houses of Parliament were included is not mentioned !

At His Majesty's feet were trophies of numerous conquests made by Britain, and beneath them a group of figures, representing Envy, Malice, Detraction, etc., tumbling headlong, like the fallen angels in Milton's "Paradise Lost"—as Holt describes the scene.

Elsewhere, wherever they were likely to be effective, were mottoes and devices, equally illumined, appropriate to the King's birthday ; the *pièce de résistance* being in front of the Museum—a magnificent orchestra, composed of eminent performers, under the direction of Mr. Kuffe, playing George's favourite airs.

It was a scene which cannot be adequately described, and it must have been a credit to the Queen's organizing powers that she designed and organized such a brilliant exhibition in two days. At any rate she had her reward, for, it is recorded that : "the King was highly delighted with this unexpected testimony of his Consort's love and respect," and doubtless he told her so in many more, and less formal words.

After George and the guests, which included most of the royal family, had thoroughly enjoyed the spectacle, they sat down to a supper of upward of a hundred cold dishes, followed by an illuminated dessert.

This party was responsible for the institution of a new Court dress of stiff-bodied gowns and bare shoulders. "The old ladies will catch their deaths," wrote Walpole in an unkindly mood. "What dreadful discoveries will be made, both of fat and lean ! I recommend to you the idea of Mrs. Cavendish when half-stark. I might fill the rest of my paper with such images, but your imagination will supply them."

Such an auspicious house-warming augured a happy future : perhaps it was so, for, during the next twenty years, fourteen princes and princesses were born within "the red-brick walls" of Buckingham House ! No wonder Peter Pindar wrote :



QUEEN ANNE

From a painting by W. Wissing and I. Vanderwaert

Time mov'd along its stealthy pace,
And star'd the Chickens in the face ;
Who now were grown up Cocks and Hens,
And had their families by tens :*
In fact they multiplied so fast,
John was dissatisfied at last.
It matter'd not who wanted bread,
The Hen and Chickens must be fed ;—

Incidentally the married couple had not long moved into their new home when the famous vista about which poets and writers had rhapsodized, equally with their domestic privacy, was threatened by the crection of houses on the piece of land on which Grosvenor Place now stands. George protested, and wanted to purchase the ground, but, unfortunately, Grenville held the purse-strings, and although £20,000 would have met all the costs, the Minister refused to sanction the expenditure.

In 1775 Buckingham House was legally settled on Queen Charlotte by Act of Parliament, in exchange for Somerset House, and from that time forward, the home of the royal family was known as the " Queen's House," and so it remained until another George changed its name once again.

* Poetical licence indeed, considering there were nine sons, and Victoria was the only grandchild who lived !

CHAPTER XIV

QUEEN'S HOUSE

WHILE Charlotte continued to do her duty as queen and wife, by presenting the nation, and her husband, with three children every four years, George attempted to revive the royal prerogative, and commenced by involving himself in a long and bitter conflict with the powerful Whig party.

For the past forty years the Whigs had reigned supreme, mostly because the Crown leaned on their support, and partly because every year, by means which were scarcely constitutional, they had intrigued to gain for themselves still greater strength, until by the time George III ascended the throne, political power was vested exclusively in the hands of a few of the leading families, who did not hesitate to maintain control of the nation's affairs by the disgraceful means of bribery and corruption.

Never before had the Crown had so little power : George found himself nothing but a mere figurehead, a King in name only. This state of affairs he determined to alter : with the intention of recovering the power which the Crown had lost since 1688, he declared war on the Whig oligarchy.

In a sense he fought the Whigs with their own tactics : as they unblushingly bought constituencies, so now George gathered together a number of politicians who attached themselves to him personally, and looked for their reward from the King, who in his turn took the Crown patronage from the hands of his Ministers and dispensed it himself. With this backing of " self-seekers " who were known as " the King's friends," George opened his attack.

Although his intentions were as praiseworthy as they were courageous, his methods were essentially unconstitutional. Forgetting, as King, he should be above all party politics, he became, himself, a leader, even though it was his own party which he led.

Eventually he won, though it took him ten years to break the Whigs. Whether his success may be considered as beneficial or harmful to the country as a whole is a much debated matter of opinion.

George did not allow any echo of the strife to penetrate into the Queen's House, in which, whenever they were in town, he and his wife continued to stay.

Here they lived as simply and as domestically as was possible. They seldom indulged in public amusements, except on the occasions when they had a box at the theatre, did not dine with the nobles, and kept themselves in such seclusion that George was accused of afflicting the privacy of an "Asiatic prince."

Then his subjects began to grumble, and to express their displeasure at the monarch's isolation. The British public, more loyal to the Crown than any other nation ever has been, with the exception of Japan, demands one reward only of its devotion: that their Sovereign shall expose himself and his family often to his people, and do so with as much pomp and picturesque ceremony as is possible.

Both George and Charlotte disliked publicity: the King was a farmer in inclination, practice, and habits. It was not long before he became known as Farmer George. As for the Queen, the people began to sneer at her, simply because her house was more a home and less a palace, because she was more a woman than she was a queen. Some idea of their impressions can be gained by the following satire, which is less exaggerated than other poems quoted in this work, and is more or less confirmed by other squibs of the times:

I own your satire's just and keen,
Proceed, and satirise the Queen.

148 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

With all my heart—The Queen, they say,
 Attends her nurs'ry every day ;
 And, like a common mother, shares
 In all her infants' little cares.
 What vulgar, unamusing scene,
 For George's wife and Britain's queen,
 'Tis whispered also at the palace
 (I hope 'tis but the voice of malice)
 That (tell it not in foreign lands)
 She works with her own royal hands ;
 And that our sovereign's sometimes seen
 In vest embroidered by his queen.
 This might a courtly fashion be
 In days of old Andromache ;
 But modern ladies, trust my words,
 Seldom sew tunics for their lords.
 What secret next must I unfold ?
 She hates, I'm confidently told—
 She hates the manners of the times
 And all our fashionable crimes,
 And fondly wishes to restore
 The golden age, and days of yore,
 When silly, simple women thought
 A breach of chastity a fault,
 Esteem'd those modest things, divorces,
 The very worst of human curses ;
 And deem'd assemblies, cards, and dice
 The springs of every sort of vice.
 Romantic notions ! all the fair
 At such absurdities must stare ;
 And, spite of all her pains, will still
 Love routs, adultery, and quadrille.

Well, is that all you find to blame,
 Sir Critic, in the royal dame ?

All I could find to blame ? no, truly !
 The longest day in June and July
 Would fail me ere I could express
 The half of Charlotte's blemishes.
 Those foolish and old-fashioned ways
 Of keeping holy Sabbath days,
 That affectation to appear
 At church, the Word of God to hear ;

That poor-like plainness in her dress,
 So void of noble tawdriness :
 That affability and ease
 That can her menial servants please,
 But which incredibly demean
 The state and grandeur of a queen !
 These, and a thousand things beside,
 I could discover and deride.
 But here's enough ; another day
 I may, perhaps, renew my lay.
 Are you content ?

Not quite, unless
 You put your satire to the press,
 For sure a satire in this mode
 Is equal to a birthday ode.

It is true that Charlotte personally supervised the education of her children ; in her enthusiasm she took lessons herself, except in dancing, and was said to have been a great student of mineralogy and natural history. Undoubtedly she loved books, and was always ready to read and discuss the latest works.

In strange contrast to the love which George and Charlotte bore each other ; also to the interest which they took to see their children educated ; was the entire lack of sympathy and human understanding which they felt—or, at least, expressed—toward them.

The Hon. Amelia Murray, for instance, says of the King :

“ He was most anxious to train up his children in the way they should go, but severity was the fashion of the day, and though naturally a tender and affectionate father, he placed his sons under tutors who imagined that the rod of Scripture could mean only bodily punishment. Princess Sophia told me once that she had seen her two eldest brothers, when they were boys of thirteen and fourteen, held by their arms to be flogged like dogs, with a long whip ! ”

It is said that the King was in the habit of watching the chastisement of his children with a virtuous satisfaction.

150 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

His thoughts on the subject may be gathered from a remark he once made to a lady of his Court, who had turned away in horror from the sight of the suffering children: "If all mothers in this country followed her Majesty's example, there would be better manners in England." How short-sighted was his policy in this respect is evidenced by the sad lives led in later years by the majority of his sons, some of whom proved to be the worst rakes, the most profligate degenerates, of all times.

It must be admitted, in all fairness to their Majesties, that while the children were still young, their parental treatment appeared to justify itself, for Fanny Burney records: "How amazingly well are all these children brought up." According to the same authority—the sweet-natured authoress of "*Evelina*"—all six Princesses were models of beauty, sweetness and propriety; but as with the boys, scandal ultimately and unhappily tarnished the reputation of some of them.

Altogether Charlotte hatched a bad brood of chicks, but that her ideas for their upbringing are entirely to blame is a moot point. They had the bad blood of the Hanoverian line running in their veins!

It was a curious life which the royal family led at the Queen's House: at once so simple, and yet so formal. Here, for example, is a picture of a day in the life of the King at Windsor, retailed by Joseph Taylor, which was no different to the days he spent at Queen's Palace, or Kew, as testified by the Annual Register, and the writings of Fanny Burney, Mrs. Papendick, and Mrs. Harcourt.

"When the King rises, generally about 7.30 a.m., he proceeds immediately to the Queen's saloon, where His Majesty is met by one of the Princesses, generally either Augusta, Sophia or Amelia: for each, in turn, attends their revered parent. From thence the Sovereign and his daughter, attended by the lady-in-waiting, proceed to the chapel in the castle, wherein divine service is performed

by the dean, or sub-dean, the ceremony occupies about an hour. Then the time passes until nine o'clock, when the King, instead of proceeding to his own apartment, and breakfasting alone, now takes his meal with the Queen and the five Princesses. The table is always set out in the Queen's noble breakfasting-room. The breakfast does not occupy half-an-hour. The King and Queen sit at the head of the table, and the Princesses according to seniority. Etiquette in every other respect is strictly adhered to. On entering the room, the usual forms are observed, agreeably to rank.

"After breakfast, the King generally rides out on horseback, attended by his equerries. Instead of only walking his horse his Majesty now proceeds at a good round trot. When the weather is unfavourable the King retires to his favourite sitting-room, and sends for Generals Fitzroy or Manners to play chess with him. His Majesty, who knows the game well, is highly pleased when he beats the former, that gentleman being an excellent player.

"The King dines regularly at two o'clock, the Queen and Princesses at four. His Majesty visits, and takes a glass of wine and water with them, at five. After this period, public business is frequently transacted by the King in his own study, wherein he is attended by his private secretary, Colonel Taylor.

"The evening is, as usual, passed at cards, in the Queen's drawing-room, where three tables are set out. To these parties many of the principal nobility, etc., residing in the neighbourhood are invited. When the clock strikes ten, the visitors retire. The supper is set out, but that is merely a matter of form, and of which none of the family partakes. These illustrious personages retire at eleven o'clock to rest for the night.

"The journal of one day is the history of a whole year."

The children of Britain have to thank Queen Charlotte for one everlasting joy in life, for it was she who was responsible

152 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

for making the Christmas-tree popular in England. Every Christmas Day she had one placed in the room of her German attendant, which was then decorated and hung with presents for the children who were invited there to see it, and to hunt for whichever parcel bore their name.

So much for the simplicity of their Majesties' life, but while they themselves lived and dressed as they pleased, they exacted punctilious behaviour from their household. At Queen's House the ladies-in-waiting were always dressed in the old Windsor uniform—of blue cloth—type of riding-habit, but as long as a gown, which was ornamented by a scarlet collar, and buttons of a star surrounded by the royal motto : "Honi soit qui mal y pense."

Many curious points of etiquette were observed, some of which were of Germanic origin : no one was permitted to pass a room in which was a member of the royal family unless the door was shut : it was rigorously forbidden to knock upon the door of the Queen's room, it being necessary to rattle the handle of the lock.

While in the green closet Charlotte would play music, or knit, or read like any German Frau, but immediately she entered the Great Saloon on reception days, she was no less regal than the old Duchess of Buckingham had been. For these occasions she invariably dressed magnificently ; especially was she fond of wearing rich lace.

Toward her personal attendants she was gracious and kindly, but there are traditions that, when displeased, she demeaned herself by personally boxing the ears of the delinquent.

There are numerous anecdotes of the Queen's House, mainly due to the fact that both George and Charlotte were fond of concerts, very often commanding two a week to be performed there. As a consequence many famous artists of the time visited it.

Johann Christian Bach, second son of the famous musician, was a frequent visitor, for he was engaged to give music lessons to the Queen, and often in the evenings he played the



PROSPECT OF ST JAMES'S PARK, FROM BUCKINGHAM HOUSE, 1736

From a contemporary print.

flute to the King's accompaniment on the piano. Very often Bach arranged a quartette in which he was assisted by Abel, the celebrated viol-di-gamba player, Cramer, the violinist, and Fischer, the oboe player.

George frequently indulged in music on a Sunday evening, until the bishops interfered "in the same laudable manner as they did with the short petticoats of the *figurantes* of the Opera House." More fearful of the bishops than of his Ministers, it is recorded that the King immediately discountenanced all further repetitions !

It was in the Queen's House that occurred a humorous episode between Bach and Fischer, Bach betting Fischer the sum of five guineas that the other man could not play his own minuet. Despite his natural nervousness, the oboe player could not resist the challenge, and picking up his instrument he commenced.

Bach allowed him to play the first few bars in peace, after which he stood in front of the other musician, and taking a lemon into his hand, gently squeezed it so that the juice dropped slowly. Meanwhile he bit a piece out of another, and sucking in a mouthful of the acid juice, vulgarly allowed it to dribble out again.

The spectacle was too much for the oboe player : the sight of the lemons so filled his mouth with saliva that he found himself unable to continue the piece, and much to the hilarity of the Court, he was compelled to own himself beaten.

Another famous visitor to the Queen's House was the great Doctor Johnson, who was in the habit of burying himself in the library with all the pleasure which a man of letters would have found in exploring the well-filled shelves which were "more numerous and curious than he supposed any person could have made in the time which the King had employed." As often as the Doctor cared to make an appearance there, "Mr. Barnard, the librarian, took care that he should have every accommodation that could contribute to his ease and convenience while indulging his literary taste, so that he had here a very agreeable resource at leisure hours."

"His Majesty having been informed of his occasional visits, was pleased to signify a desire that he should be told when next Dr. Johnson came to the library. Accordingly the next time that Johnson did come, as soon as he was fairly engaged with a book, on which while, he sat by the fire, he seemed quite intent, Mr. Barnard stole round to the apartment where the king was, and in obedience to His Majesty's commands, mentioned that Dr. Johnson was then in the library. His Majesty said he was at leisure, and would go to him; upon which Mr. Barnard took one of the candles that stood on the king's table and lighted His Majesty through a suite of rooms till they came to a private door in the library of which His Majesty had the key. Being entered, Mr. Barnard stepped forward hastily to Dr. Johnson, who was still in a profound study, and whispered to him, 'Sir, here is the king.' Johnson started up, and stood still. His Majesty approached him, and at once was courteously easy."

The King talked on many subjects, recounted at much length by Johnson's conscientious biographer Boswell, who continues :

"During the whole of this interview Johnson talked to His Majesty with profound respect, but still in his firm manly manner, with a sonorous voice, and never in that subdued tone which is commonly used at the levee and in the drawing room. After the King withdrew, Johnson showed himself highly pleased with His Majesty's conversation and gracious behaviour.

"He said to Mr. Barnard, 'Sir, they may talk of the King as they will, but he is the finest gentleman I have ever seen.' And he later said to his friend Langton, 'Sir, his manners are those of as fine a gentleman as we may suppose Louis XIV or Charles II.'"

This was praise indeed from one who was generally so sparing of it, particularly so in the case of the Hanoverian

King, whose occupancy of the throne was so antagonistic to the cause of Johnson's beloved Stuarts, and is yet another proof of the loyalty which a king may, if he choose, instil into the breasts of his people, by the charm of personal contact.

When Johnson subsequently retold the story of this interview to his bosom companions of the "Mitre," Goldsmith turned to him and said: "You acquitted yourself better than I should have done, for I should have bowed and stammered through the whole of it."

On another occasion, when Johnson was in the Queen's House, he encountered the Prince of Wales, and proceeded to question him on the Scriptures. The worthy doctor records that the answers of the youthful George were eminently satisfactory. Evidently George IV believed more in the theory of religion than in the practice thereof!

Another musician on familiar terms with the royal family was the celebrated Handel, who was the King's favourite composer. There is a story of him, which, though not directly concerned with Queen's House itself, is sufficiently amusing to be here repeated.

"Handel, though of a very robust and uncouth external appearance, yet had such a remarkable irritation of nerves, that he could not bear to hear the tuning of instruments, and therefore this was always done before Handel arrived. A musical wag, who knew how to extort some mirth from his irascibility of temper, stole into the orchestra on a night the Prince of Wales was to be present, untuned all the instruments, some half a note, others a whole note, lower than the organ. As soon as the Prince arrived, Handel gave the signal of beginning conspirato, but such was the horrible discord that the enraged musician started up from his seat, and having overturned a double-bass which stood in his way, seized a kettle drum, which he threw with such violence at the head of the leader of the band, that he lost his full-bottomed wig by the effort. Without waiting to replace

it, he advanced bareheaded to the front of the orchestra, breathing vengeance, but so much choked with passion that utterance was denied him. In this ridiculous attitude he stood staring, and stamping for some moments, amid a convulsion of laughter. The Prince went personally to appease his wrath, which he with great difficulty accomplished."

Josiah Wedgewood and his partner Bentley, occasionally visited Queen's House in order to exhibit the newest things in artistic pottery.

Bentley, writing to a friend at Liverpool, says : " Last Monday Mr. Wedgewood and I had a long audience of their majesties at the Queen's Palace, to present some bas-reliefs, which the Queen had ordered, and to show some new improvements with which they were well pleased. They expressed in the most obliging and condescending manner their attention to our manufactures and entered freely into conversation on the further improvements of it, and on many other subjects. The King is well acquainted with business, and with the characters of the principal manufactures ; merchants, and artists and seems to have the success of all our manufactures much at heart, and to understand the importance of them. The Queen has more sensibility, true politeness, engaging affability and sweetness of temper, than any great lady I ever had the honour of speaking to."

In 1779, the Queen's House suffered an accident which might have been much worse than was the case. About the beginning of the year a terrific hurricane passed over the metropolis. The wind, blowing violently from the northwest, took off the upper corner of the palace ; this was the room next to the one in which the Princes Ernest, Augustus, and Adolphus slept, and was immediately over that of their parents. Immediately the King arose and hurried to his children, to find the ceiling falling, and the bedstead of the eldest Prince already broken, but he quickly hurried them to a place of safety, and no personal harm was done.

CHAPTER XV

QUEEN'S HOUSE (CONTINUED)

WHILE life at Queen's House pursued its even course, George continued to rule the country with a firm and—save occasionally—with an unyielding hand.

Urged by the counsels of Bute, whom George had created a Secretary of State, the King, determined to get rid of Pitt, who opposed the suggested peace with France, opened negotiations, until at length Pitt resigned his offices, shortly afterward to gain immense popularity.

In contrast to the public enthusiasm which greeted Pitt, the King subsequently received a chilling reception, while Bute's carriage was attacked in the streets; but this did not deter the obstinate George, who created Bute First Minister, presented him with the Garter, and in spite of harsh criticism and enmity, made other changes in the Cabinet.

During the next few months he disposed of the Duke of Devonshire, his brother Lord George Cavendish, Newcastle, Grafton, and Rockingham: in fact, with the King's approval, a general proscription of the Whigs was carried out, extending even to some of the inferior offices. Consequently, when he went to open the new Parliament he rode through the streets amid an unusual and ghastly silence.

Almost at once a strong feeling arose against the unpopular Bute, who was accused of being a "favourite," which he certainly was not, save, perhaps, in a political sense. Bute, who was not particularly favoured with courage and determination, wilted before the outburst, and, within a few months, resigned—rather to George's relief; he had found him "deficient in political firmness."

Later, forced by circumstances, the King appealed to Pitt to resume office, but the politician refused except upon his own terms which George refused to consider, so Grenville, who had taken Bute's place, carried on, and shortly succeeded in having Bute banished from London ; Grenville, in his "Papers," testifies that for some time after this the King and his Ministers remained on better terms.

Meanwhile George did not regain his popularity with the bulk of the people, which was the more marked in contrast to the reception accorded to the hereditary Prince of Brunswick who came to London to marry George's sister, Augusta. This resulted in the King and his future brother-in-law behaving rudely toward one another.

It was about twelve months after Brunswick's visit—during which time George and his Ministers were perpetually in disagreement—when the King suffered a grievous illness during which the signs of mental derangement became manifest.

Perhaps the first person to discover signs of the King's weakness before his actual collapse was Mrs. Siddons, the famous actress who was very popular with both King and Queen, and was frequently at Queen's House, for the purpose of reading plays. On the occasion of one of her visits, after she had completed her task of reading a script, George, with every expression of pleasure at her performance, presented her with a piece of paper, blank of aught else but his signature, thus implying that he was giving her his bond to make good any pecuniary compensation at which she might care to value her services.

She received the paper with a graceful dignity, but at the earliest opportunity she hurried to the Queen, and returned the blank form. Charlotte accepted the paper with becoming approbation, but apparently in this case, the virtue of Mrs. Siddons was left to be its only reward.

Upon his recovery George went to his uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, who had considerable influence with the Opposition, to influence Pitt, and other of the Whig families

to form a "strong and lasting administration," but Pitt refused, as did Lord Lyttleton whom George next approached.

About this time the Spitalfields weavers rioted, on account of certain Parliamentary measures, and, getting out of hand, they marched toward the Queen's House to lay their complaints before him. Not finding him there, they followed him to Wimbledon, where he listened to their arguments, and persuaded them to return to their homes.

Before long, however, fresh disorders were reported, which might have developed into a dangerous situation, but the King proved himself capable of dealing with the affair—as he often did at crises—and, by taking vigorous measures, checked all further rioting. Grenville reports that he was so anxious not to appear as if he were avoiding the malcontents that he offered to put himself at the head of the army. This was not the vainglorious declaration of a braggart, for time proved him to be possessed of remarkable courage.

Nevertheless, the plight of the weavers, when it was poured into the ears of the King, did not pass unnoticed by their Majesties, for Charlotte, with the usual kindheartedness and charitable sentiments which her personal friends often ascribed to her, immediately laid aside the foreign silks which had previously been the fashion, and not only insisted upon wearing gowns of home manufacture, but requested the ladies of her Court to do the same.

As a result of Pitt and Lyttleton's refusing to accept office, the King was forced to recall his Ministers ; and failing anyone else, he was obliged to suffer Grenville again, until eventually he persuaded Newcastle and Rockingham to form an Administration.

For the next five years a ding-dong battle was waged, too involved to require further mention here, but in 1770 George succeeded in his long quest by ruling the country through responsible Ministers of his own choice, who were content to shape their policy according to the dictates of their King, and thus George fulfilled the dream of—comparatively—absolute

monarchy, which his mother had drilled into him. This form of government continued for the next twelve years.

During these twelve years George continued to lead a quiet life, devoting much of his time to the farming he loved, exercising as often as possible, and working hard, devoting himself to the interests of his people.

Meanwhile a rumour had developed to the effect that Queen Charlotte and King George were parsimonious and frugal. Parsimonious they were not, though they were not noted for generosity. Frugal they may have been, but possibly more for the sake of health than economy. George had a fear of becoming fat, and for that reason was very abstemious, but that maids-of-honour were sent supperless to bed, and that cherry-tarts were put upon the table only to be waved away because the royal family were in such good health that they had no need of dainties are tales which must be left to the Banvards, and the anonymous writers of "Secret Histories," to emphasize and exaggerate.

If the royal children were fed more plainly than they themselves appreciated, the probable explanation may be found in Mrs. Papendiek's "Journal."

This good lady writes that the Queen insisted upon having two doctors: "always on the spot to watch the constitutions of the royal children, to eradicate, if possible, or at least to keep under, the dreadful disease, scrofula, inherited from the King. She herself saw them bathed at six every morning, attended the schoolroom of her daughters, was present at their dinner, and directed their attire, whenever these arrangements did not interfere with public duties, or any plans or wishes of the King whom she neither contradicted nor kept waiting a moment, I may almost say, under any circumstances."

It would be an unnatural mother who would be careless of the feeding of children suffering from a disease of this type! If the Queen prohibited the children from indulging in rich, fanciful food, it was all for their own good. As a matter of



ISABELLA (BENNET), DUCHESS OF GRAFTON
From a painting by W. Wissing.

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fact, Charlotte did not make herself responsible for the choice of her children's food !

" Every morning they (the royal children) were expected at the breakfast, which was at nine o'clock, from the eldest to the youngest, whom the wet-nurse herself took in. Here the medical man saw them, and invariably directed the meals for the day including those of the wet-nurse."

It would seem that if anyone were to blame for the plain feeding of the royal family it was their medical adviser !

Toward 1780, new complications in Parliament began to give the King cause for uneasiness : beside this there was a further trouble which had to be faced : the spread of the " no popery " riots. In consequence of weakness in checking the disorder in its earlier stages, the movement strengthened each day until, on the 6th of June, it reached its most serious heights. Nobody with any authority came forward to take the affair in hand until the King stepped into the breach as he had done in the case of the Spitalfields riots.

The first thing he did was to write to North, rightly blaming the magistrate for their inability to cope with the rioters, who were hourly growing bolder, and then called a special Privy Council for the next day. Meanwhile the infuriated mob approached Westminster : among other places which were in the danger zone, and likely to be stormed, was the Queen's House. The military were summoned, between three and four thousand troops were quartered in the gardens and grounds of the royal house, the officers were temporarily billeted in the Riding House, while messengers were constantly sent out to report on the movements of the mob.

George placed himself well to the forefront of the troops. Together with several officers he walked among the ranks, where he discovered that, in the hurry, no straw had been provided upon which the troops might rest themselves. Instantly he announced : " My lads, my crown cannot

162 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

purchase you straw to-night, but depend on it, I have given orders that a sufficiency shall be here to-morrow forenoon ; as a substitute for the straw, my servants will instantly serve you with a good allowance of wine and spirit to make your situation as comfortable as possible ; and I shall keep you company myself till morning."

He acted up to his word, and throughout the night he walked the gardens, kept the officers company in the Riding House, and visited his wife and children in the palace.

The next day, when the Privy Council met, he was informed that the reading of the Riot Act, and other formalities, were necessary before it was legal to call upon the military to maintain order. Suggestions of this sort were anathema to the King's militant spirit : he derided the necessity, and firmly declared that if there were further delay he would lead the Guards himself to disperse the mob.

After much hesitation the Privy Council agreed to act upon George's advice, and a Proclamation was immediately issued bidding the military act.

Meanwhile he was told that some of the mob were endeavouring to enter St. James's Park. He commanded the troops to keep the crowd away with fixed bayonets, but on no account to fire. These orders were carried out, and the rioters soon realized the advisability of moving to other quarters. The results of the King's intrepidity and courage saved London from possible havoc : later, his action was declared to have been in strict conformity with common law.

On the 12th August, 1783, the Prince of Wales attained his majority, but the Court celebrations, which had been arranged to take place on this day, had to be postponed owing to the Queen having given birth to her *fifteenth*—and last—child, five days previously !

During the next five years, further worries assailed this sober-minded King, to whom nothing could have given greater pleasure than to have retired to a large country estate, and live the life of a gentleman farmer. Beside the continual strife which he waged with the politicians, he had more

intimate affairs to plague him, for his eldest son, like his father, had begun to express his fondness of agricultural pursuits, but the Prince of Wales differed in the methods of the King : it was wild oats which the younger George sowed.

In the autumn of 1786 an attempt was made to assassinate the King. He had arrived to attend a levee at St. James's, and as he alighted from his post-chariot a little neatly dressed woman pressed forward in order to present a petition. The King received it with kindly condescension, but as he did so, the woman drew forth a well-worn knife, and struck at the King's chest.

There must be a special Providence that, ninety-nine times out of a hundred, guards the lives of kings from death by assassination, and this time there was no exception. The thin blade actually broke, as it pierced the waistcoat.

As soon as the woman realized she had failed she made a second attempt, but just in time a yeoman caught her arm, while a footman wrenched the weapon from her feeble hand. George, calm and unruffled, exclaimed : " I am not hurt ; take care of the poor woman, do not harm her," and passed inside, where the levee was carried on as if nothing had occurred.

Investigation proved that the woman was Margaret Nicholson—commonly known as Peg—a daughter of respectable parents, who, for some years past had revealed signs of approaching insanity. She was sent to Bedlam, where she lived for thirty-seven years, surviving the King himself.

In the spring of 1788 George suffered from several violent bilious attacks, partly ascribed to the violent exercises he took to check his approaching corpulence, and partly—perhaps mostly—to worry. The following October he was taken ill, following a wetting the day before, and signs of derangement again appeared.

On the 8th of November he became delirious and for some time the doctors despaired of his life, but his hardy constitution eventually pulled him round, and he was declared convalescent in February.

During this period he was shaved twice only, and in order to do this without causing unnecessary suffering to the King, Mr. Papendiek, a page, begged the Queen to engage Palmer, the razor-maker, so that there should be no flaw in the instrument. This was arranged, the razor was sharpened and Mr. Papendiek set to work. He succeeded in cleaning the two cheeks at one sitting, and without drawing blood. During the whole time the Queen, out of the sight of her lord and master, patiently saw the whole operation, which took nearly two hours to perform, thus creating what is possibly a record for the longest shave !

Another proof of the Spartan life which George insisted on leading is quoted by Stanhope, who says that, throughout the winter, no fire was allowed in the room where the King slept, although it was so intensely cold that no one else could remain there for more than thirty minutes at a time.

During his illness the public did not hesitate to express their sincere sympathy : up to that time possibly George was never more popular than he was during that period of mental darkness. As soon as his recovery was officially acknowledged the news was hailed with delight, and London was splendidly illuminated. At the Queen's express command a special illumination was built on the gates of Queen's House.

Not only was the King's malady responsible for proving the devotion which his subjects bore toward him, but as Mrs. Harcourt discloses, it also reacted in his own home, even the heartless Prince of Wales revealing—for the last time—some signs of filial love.

" 19th February 1789. . . . Pss. Royal has, I find, acquired great weight with him (the king). Her attentions before his illness had gained his heart and he shewed her much partiality at the beginning of it before he was separated from his family. . . .

" 20th February. Princess' Augusta's letter to Miss Goldsworthy.

" I have the pleasure my dearest Gooly of telling you

we had the happiness of a Visit from my dear Papa. Last night he came upstairs at 7 and staid till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9. Thank God, my dearest Gouly, for this Comfort. Thank God for his great mercy to us. I am so very happy that I really could hardly believe my eyes when I saw him: he was so composed, so kind, so exactly what you and all our real friends could wish. The Gentlemen below declared they never saw him better than when he quitted us, and he has had a Charming night of 7 hours sleep. Your most affect. my dearest Gouly,

AUGUSTA SOPHIA.

"*22nd February.* I was just with Lady C. when Genl. H. came to fetch me to Mr. Smelt's house, saying the King was waiting to see me. I flew up stairs where I found the King and before I could speak he caught me in his arms and kissed, which I own I did him on both sides of his face. . . .

"*23rd February.* The King and Queen afterwards came together to see me. She was dreadfully reduced and shewed me her stays which would wrap twice over. . . .

". . . . At three the P. and D. of Y. arrived. They were shewn up to the Queen. Col. Digby went to tell the K. who went immediately up stairs. He stopped at the door for a moment to wipe away a tear. Saying to Digby, the H. of Brunswick used to make a Rule never to shed tears. (I understand that in this he alluded to Geo 1st whose character he always speaks highly of and seemed to respect.) On going in however he caught the Princes in his arms with great affection. Both shed tears. He said he always loved and should always love them. The Prince said this was the happiest day of his life. The King purposely confined the Conversation to common Subjects, and the Queen's dinner being announced they took leave in $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour and went away. They were evidently surprized at the King's perfect self possession nor did he betray the slightest remains of his Malady. . . ."

166 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

As soon as the King was well enough to place himself at the head of affairs again their Majesties resumed their former habits of amusement, concerts twice a week at the Queen's House, and once a week a Drawing-Room.

His wife's continued affection for him must have meant much to George in the days which followed, for the life of George, Prince of Wales, became more and more scandalous, while Frederick, Duke of York was very little better in his conduct. Moreover, the summer which followed was unusually hot, so that he was affected by it, and his physicians became anxious again, and asked the Queen to devote herself entirely to him—though there is little cause for believing that she had ever done anything else.

In 1792, George was worried by the frenzied activities of "Friends of the People," and other revolutionary societies; while in the House, Fox and his friends openly sympathized with the sanguinary revolutionaries across the Channel. The King expressed strong feelings against the politicians, and in this he was supported by the country, but two years later the unlucky George was once again out of favour, when his carriage was surrounded by a clamorous mob, shouting: "Bread, we want bread!" and "Down with George!" Many stones were thrown. The King acted with his usual composure, and the public, always the first to acknowledge personal courage, cheered him the following evening, when he appeared at Covent Garden Theatre. A few months later, as they were returning from Drury Lane Theatre, a stone was thrown at the royal carriage, which hit the Queen.

On the 16th of May, 1800, there was another attack on the life of the King. The King, Queen, and Princesses had arrived at Drury Lane Theatre to see Cobber's *She Would and She Would Not*. Just as George entered the royal box, a soldierly looking man in the middle of the pit, rose to his feet and before anyone could realize what was happening, he produced and levelled a horse pistol at his Majesty.

Fortunately the gentleman next to him, by a strange coincidence, one Mr. Holroyd of Scotland Yard, acted with

promptitude, and, just as the would-be assassin fired, knocked up his arm so that the bullet penetrated the roof of the royal box, instead of the royal person.

There was an immediate shout of dismay from all over the house, then a cry of "Seize him," and the man was hustled, by an angry crowd, into the musicians' room, where he was arrested and taken prisoner.

Meanwhile the King continued to advance with perfect composure to the front of the box, where he watched the man being hurried away. When the Queen entered, and enquired the reason for the excitement, he replied, with amiable mendacity: "Only a squib, squib! They have been firing squibs."

Charlotte was not deceived by his attitude, and guessing the truth, enquired whether they should stay.

"Yes," George replied calmly, "we will not stir, we will stay the whole of the performance," which they did, despite many entreaties from other people to return home.

James Hatfield, who had been guilty of the crime, proved to be an old soldier, whose old wounds had brought about insanity. Like Peg Nicholson, he was lodged in Bedlam Asylum, where he, too, died, but not before he had appeased his insane appetite for murder by killing one of the other inmates.

This second attack on the King's life had its sequel, for in consequence of it, Charlotte made use of every possible stratagem to keep him from visiting theatrical amusements. Soon afterward, when she found him fully resolved on visiting the Opera House, she invited over two hundred guests to a concert and cards at the Queen's House on the night which he had proposed to go to the theatre, so that George had no option but to stay behind to welcome her visitors. The next time he fixed an evening for the Opera, the Queen contrived to have a party formed at York House. Finally, when she found—as she might have expected—that George meant to adhere to his resolution, she arranged to have the royal box defended.

While these murderous attacks always left George with still nerves, and an unruffled calm, other, more subtle, attacks slowly undermined his health. Peter Pindar, the versifier, and Gillray, the cartoonist, with a vituperate pen, and a vitriolic brush, ridiculed the homeliness of his domestic life and his frugal husbandry, growing more noticeable as the King aged. Nevertheless, the King's popularity began to increase wonderfully among the middle class, while, as a whole, the nation was genuinely loyal to him, the extremists at both ends of the financial ladder only were discontented with him.

The people had good reason to be loyal : not for many hundred years had the country been ruled by a more painstaking, dutiful, and self-sacrificing monarch. Moreover, although his unconstitutional methods had succeeded in conquering the party system of government, by this time Parliament had wrestled the power back into their own hands again : to find George far more tractable than before.

Duty—or at any rate what he conceived to be such—meant everything to George, and when he was forced, by circumstances, to act against his own conscience, he fretted so much that, invariably, he had to pay by involving himself in mild attacks of insanity.

Early in 1804 he had another more serious attack, during which his life was in danger, and, as before, this was the result of accumulated political strife, and worry over his rake-hellish son.

Later on, that same year, the King was forced to suffer more domestic trouble : many discussions concerning the Prince of Wales upsetting the household, for Charlotte was anxious on behalf of her son. For some time he swore he would not forgive the Prince, and when he did, eventually, agree to a reconciliatory meeting, his son failed to keep the appointment. In the autumn—as if his burden were not already heavy enough, in all conscience—he disclosed the fact that he had nearly lost the sight of his right eye. Finally, when family disputes continued to trouble him, it became



WILLIAM CAVENDISH, FIRST DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE
From a painting by G. Kneller.

necessary for he and his wife to live apart in case of an outbreak of madness.

During the early part of 1805 his health improved, but by the summer he had entirely lost the sight of his right eye, and could see but little with his left. Fortunately business matters were easier : his relations with Pitt were so amicable that when Pitt died, the following January, the King was so upset that for two days he would not interview his Ministers.

In 1807 he entered his seventieth year, which was celebrated with unusual splendour. The number of persons who gained admittance into the palace surpassed what had been witnessed for many years. Every room was filled, the avenues crowded to excess. The line of carriages extended so far, that many people left them, and proceeded on foot. The inconvenience was scarcely less within the palace ; a free passage for the royal family was made with difficulty, such was the general eagerness to witness the meeting of the Prince and Princess of Wales in the presence of their Majesties. The King was not present, in consequence of the weakness of his eyes, though his health was unimpaired.

Soon after the entrance of the Queen into the drawing-room, the Prince arrived, and conversed with her for some time. About three o'clock the Princess came, elegantly attired. After complimenting Her Majesty and the Princesses, she entered into conversation with the Prince ; during which there was a profound silence in the room ; all eyes were fixed upon them. As nothing appeared beyond the forms of politeness, it was conjectured that further connection was impossible.

During the next few years the King led an extremely quiet and—although he could neither read nor write—a bravely cheerful life. In 1808 the jubilee of the reign was kept with enthusiastic rejoicings, after which he retired to Windsor, by which time he was completely blind. Notwithstanding, his temper remained gentle, his manner quiet ; he invariably attended service every morning.

In 1811, in view of his, now almost permanent, insanity,

the Regency Bill was passed, which gave the care of the country to his eldest son, and the care of his person to the Queen.

The remainder of his life he spent in mental and physical darkness, until, on the 29th of January, 1820, he passed quietly away. Thus died an honourable man, and—for all his faults—a great King.

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Before passing on to George IV, it would be interesting to read of a royal marriage as celebrated in those days. The marriage, which Holt has described so picturesquely, was of the Princess Mary to the Duke of Gloucester, which took place in 1816, fairly soon after the marriage of Princess Charlotte, their Majesties' granddaughter through the Prince of Wales, and Caroline of Brunswick to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg.

"There never was a union among the Royal Family more calculated to produce happiness to the parties and satisfaction to the nation," says Holt, with rather more licence than truth, who continues :

"The marriage of this highly respectable pair was delayed chiefly on account of the absence of the Duke of Cambridge. The persons invited were the same as were present at the marriage of the Princess Charlotte, with a very few exceptions. They consisted, in addition to the Royal Family, of the Duke and Duchess of Orleans, the Duchess's sister, the Duke de Bourbon, with other foreigners of distinction, the foreign ambassadors and Ministers, with their ladies, the Deputy Earl Marshal of England, the great Officers of State and of the Household, the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, the Master of the Rolls, and other law officers ; the Duke of York's staff, the King's, Queen's and Windsor establishments, together with the different suites of the different branches of the Royal Family. These were invited to the solemnisation of the marriage.

“ The grand saloon in the Queen's palace was the place fitted up for the performance of the nuptial ceremony ; a temporary Altar was erected, placed close to the temporary throne lately placed there ; and the crimson velvet and old lace of the hangings, together with a costly display of massy communion plate, presented a very magnificent spectacle.

“ At twelve o'clock the Duke of Gloucester paid a morning visit to his intended bride, who was at the Queen's palace with her Royal mother, and her sisters the Princesses Augusta and Elizabeth. The Duke returned to Gloucester House where he dined privately at five o'clock.

“ At seven o'clock in the evening a guard of honour marched into the courtyard of the Queen's palace, and a party of Life and Foot Guards were stationed in the park under the proper authority of a numerous police. The company began to arrive soon afterwards : the palace was brilliantly illuminated, and the grand staircase had all the state arrangements usual on drawing-room days. The grand hall was lined with a party of the Yeomen of the Guard. The Royal Family on their entrance, were received with the usual military honours, the band playing ‘ God save the King.’ The Princess Sophia of Gloucester went in state, with her servants in new liveries. At twenty minutes past eight o'clock, the Duke of Gloucester arrived in state, with his suite in two carriages. He was dressed in the uniform of a Field-marshal, and wore the Order of the Garter. At the entrance of the palace, the officers of the Prince Regent's household waited to receive him, and the Royal Duke bowed his acknowledgements for this mark of attention. The Duke and Duchess of York followed immediately. At half past eight the Prince Regent arrived, not without his usual train of Life Guards : he was accompanied by the Duke of Clarence and his attendants. At a quarter before nine Prince Leopold arrived with his suite ; and soon afterwards the marriage

ceremony began. The foreign Ambassadors, with their ladies, entered the saloon first, then followed the Cabinet Ministers and their ladies, and proceeded to the right. The great Officers of State, and those of the Royal Households, went to the left. The Queen took her station at the left side of the Altar, where was a state chair placed for her, the Princesses Augusta and Elizabeth, the Duchess of York, Princess Sophia of Gloucester, were on her left, and their female attendants after them ; while the Prince Regent was on the right side of the Altar, and his Royal brothers near him.

"Everything being arranged and ready, the Lord Chamberlain retired, and introduced the Duke of Gloucester and presented him to the Altar. He then retired again, and with the Duke of Cambridge, introduced the Princess Mary, and the Royal Duke presented her Royal Highness to the Prince Regent, who gave her away in marriage to the Duke of Gloucester.

"Her Royal Highness was dressed with her usual simplicity ; she wore no feathers, but a bandeau of white roses fastened together by light sprigs of pearls. Her neck was ornamented with a brilliant fringe necklace, her arms with bracelets of brilliants formed into flowers, and her waist with a girdle to correspond with her bandeau. The formal document of the Royal assent, signed with the Great Seal, being shown to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he, assisted by the Bishop of London, proceeded with the ceremony. Mr. Proves, the verger of Whitehall, who had formally been present at the Christening of Her Royal Highness, now assisted at her marriage.

"At about a quarter past nine, the guns fired a signal that the marriage was concluded ; and the Princess Mary, after giving her hand to the female attendants of the Queen and Princesses, retired with her husband and the rest of the Royal Family to the private apartments of the Queen. Shortly afterwards the new married pair drove off to Bagshot, amidst the huzzas of an immense multitude."

One last incident: Queen Charlotte, having died just previously, the Prince Regent and the Princesses attended at the Queen's House, early in January 1819, to make a division of the Queen's diamonds.

They were divided into four heaps—what would Gillray not have given to have been present—after which a discussion arose as to how the jewels were to be deposited for the time being. A suggestion was made by a female attendant that use might be made of some empty boxes which could be procured from the lumber room not far from the late Queen's apartments. The idea finding approval, some one was despatched to bring back the boxes.

On examining one of them, there was found inside a heap of jewellery, covered with dust, which proved to be the King's sword, star, loop, garter, and other jewels which had been missing for some time.

Incredible situation—lost jewels in a palace lumber room! Somehow it is difficult to associate lumber rooms with palaces!

CHAPTER XVI

QUEEN'S HOUSE (CONTINUED)

GEORGE AUGUSTUS FREDERICK, eldest child of George III and Charlotte, was born at St. James's Palace, on the 12th of August, 1762, as already related. When the news was conveyed to his father that the infant was a remarkably fine boy, and that the Queen was faring well, George III was so delighted that he presented the bearer of the glad tidings with the sum of £500.

On the 17th of the same month the baby was created Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester; on the following 8th of September he was christened by Archbishop Secker, of whom mention has already been made. In between his birth and his christening he had been put on view, for the benefit of an admiring public, from one to three o'clock every Drawing-Room day. It is said that the daily expense for cake was estimated at £40, the cost of the wine consumed considerably greater. However thrifty their Majestics might have been in the later years of their reign, this charge cannot be levelled at their heads at this period of their married life!

The Queen's love for her first-born was universally recognized, and despite the fact that in later years the Prince did everything which might have alienated her affections for him, it has been seen that at one period of the Prince's life, her support of him led to friction between herself and her husband.

The first evidence of this love would be considered curious in modern days; soon after the birth of George, she commanded a full-length portrait, modelled in wax, to be made

of the baby Prince. When finished, this model, representing the naked, chubby child, was laid upon a crimson cushion, and covered by a bell-glass, and the *tout ensemble* was kept on Her Majesty's toilette table at Buckingham House, from which it was not moved until after the Queen's death.

In due course he was inoculated, and placed in the charge of a retinue of nurses. On the 26th of December, 1765, he was created a Knight of the Garter—it is to be hoped, with every appreciation of such an honour! In October 1769, his parents conceived the original idea of holding a Drawing-Room, formally held in his name, a novelty which excited a considerable amount of attention, and was well attended.

Mostly, during the earlier years of his life, George was brought up, with his brother Frederick, with strict simplicity and seclusion at the Bower Lodge, at Kew—perhaps the Princess Dowager Augusta still influenced George III at that time!

The discipline at Bower Lodge was almost that of a public school; as elsewhere the King and Queen were up about six o'clock in the morning, breakfasting at eight with the two princes. After that the different teachers appeared, and the boys had to apply themselves diligently to the variety of subjects: several languages, literature, music, drawing, and other accomplishments.

Often the King was present at these lessons: once when he was asked how he wished the princes to be treated, he replied: "Like the sons of any private English gentleman. If they deserve it let them be flogged; do as you used to do at Westminster." Bearing these instructions in mind it is not surprising that the tutors carried out their orders, with consequences previously related.

It is amusing to reflect that there was one time when the princes had their revenge upon one of their tutors—Arnold is the one suggested. It was when they were older—and stronger! The tutor, for some misdemeanour, or error of omission, decided to birch the boys, but the princes exchanged quick glances: in another minute they threw them-

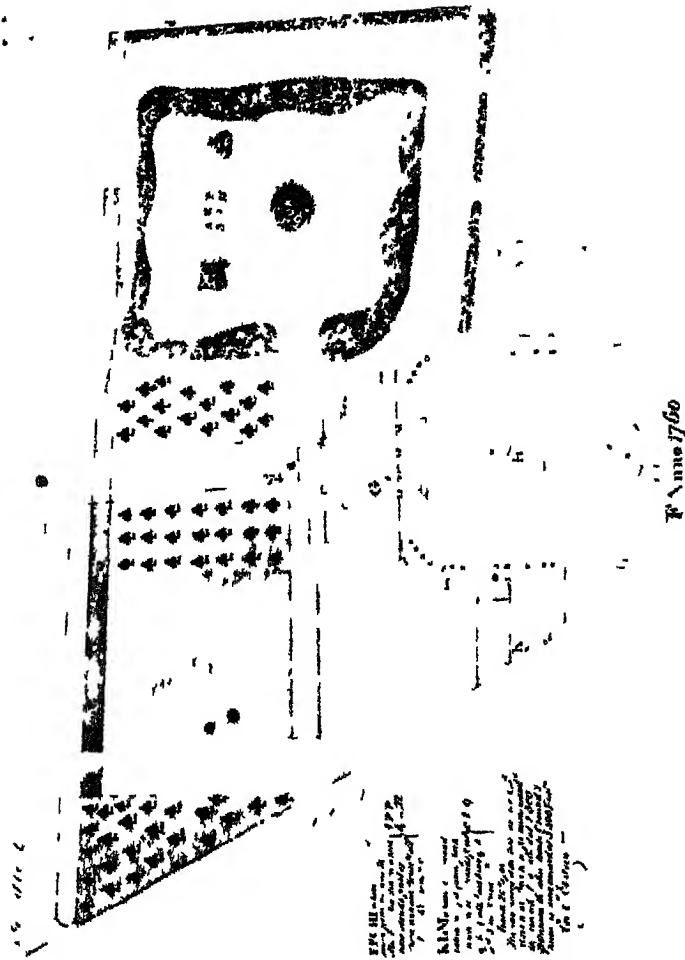
selves upon the unfortunate man, and seizing the instrument of punishment, chastized him with more vigour and enthusiasm, fostered of past memories, than had ever been the case when they were the recipients. It is said their tutor did not attempt to thrash them again !

George learned easily ; he had a natural aptitude for assimilating knowledge, and soon was able to converse fluently in several languages. Nor was he backward in artistic accomplishments. Mrs. Papendiek records the fact that her husband was often absent of an evening owing to his services being requisitioned by the Prince to give him practice. In later years, as soon as the Queen's parties were over, the Prince's began : several times a week he would take part in a quartette, or else hold a grand concert.

In addition to owning an agreeable voice which he used to some effect, he played equally as well on the piano as on the violoncello, using his fingers on his bow with taste and precision.

Nevertheless, at an early age, he began to develop a vicious character which was to mark him down in history as the worst of monarchs, the most profligate of men, the most malevolent of husbands, and the most callous of sons. With his tutors he was headstrong and disobedient, with his father disrespectful. He had no regard for the truth, drank to excess, and preferred the company of the low and vulgar, to the more elegant companionship of the intellectual. It was the heritage of blood : he was a true descendant of the two first Hanoverian Georges. From them he inherited all of the vices of each one of them, to which he added many of his own, and none of their virtues, for if the first George had few, George II possessed many excellent points.

The few writers who have sought to find excuses for "Prince Florizel"—and so few are they it is difficult to discover them—indicate that much of the blame for the Prince's twisted character must be laid at the doors of his parents and the manner in which they regulated his early life. Certainly George was kept secluded, but not more so than



PLAN OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM'S ESTATE, 1760
From the Grace Collection

was his father before him, and Victoria after him ; two fine characters, with both of whom, as private individuals, it would be difficult to find fault.

At the same time it is interesting to find just how far his early life was " seclued " ! He did not lack companionship, he had his brothers and sisters—surely sufficient in all conscience !

Then there were his tutors : Bishop Markham, Dr. Jackson, M. de Sulzar, Lord Holderness, Bishop Hurd, Arnold, Lord Bruce, and Duke of Montague.

For relaxation there were the Drawing-Rooms, his mother's and his own—in 1769, the Prince of Wales, Duke of York, and Princess Royal held their own Drawing-Room, though the latter was but two years old—the quartette parties, and the concerts.

As for the food, except on rare occasions, growing, healthy children ask for quantity, not quality, while if his character were weighed up in the balance it would be difficult to decide whether he was flogged because of his ill-nature, or whether ill-nature resulted from the corporal punishment. Other children have been flogged—though, as a punishment it is to be highly deprecated—but have not turned out such despicable characters ; it would scarcely be possible !

Concerning the alleged harshness and lack of ordinary affection on the part of his parents, this scarcely coincides with the story of the wax figure which Charlotte never had moved from her toilette table, the personal interest which she took in her children to the point of educating herself in some subjects to be of assistance to them, and finally, her defence of him in the face of the King's anger. It cannot be established that Charlotte was devoid of maternal love toward her eldest son.

With regard to the King, who, admittedly, disliked his son—like every one of the Hanover line before him—again it is a question of whether the Prince's unfilial characteristics brought about the father's feelings, or the King's lack of interest developed the younger George's churlishness.

178 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

Nevertheless, George the elder was not blameless : perhaps he believed that sauce which suited the goose was just as excellent for the gander ; in other words, the treatment which had turned him out—from the moral point of view, an upright, honourable man—was the best suited for his son, consequently he acted up to his principles, as he always did, and as a result the Prince was prohibited from indulging in many recreations and amusements which might have made more a man of him, and less of a sensuous tailor's dummy.

As George approached his nineteenth year he endeavoured to persuade his father to grant him a commission in the army, and more personal liberty, but unfortunately the King made one of the most disastrous negative decisions of his reign, and refused both appeals. Had George III permitted the Prince of Wales to have joined the army it might have resulted in the future history of England being altogether different.

Subsequently, on the 1st of January, 1781, the King provided his son with his own establishments, which consisted of a small house at Kew, and separate apartments in Windsor Castle and Queen's Palace, and the Prince of Wales was forthwith launched into a—to him—new and flattering world.

The consequences were as appalling as they were unexpected. Croly, in his work on George IV, says : " In other lands the King is a despot, and the heir-apparent a rebel ; in England—the King is a tory, and the heir-apparent a whig."

The Prince of Wales was no exception. The first thing he did was to ally himself to Fox—against that politician's advice—and unconstitutionally identify himself as a Whig with an undisguised enthusiasm which Walpole describes as " indecent." What was still worse, he fell under the influence of the Duke of Cumberland, and the Duke de Chartres, two of the most evil men of that decade.

George began his career of immorality with an affair which commenced and finished inside the walls of Queen's

House. He was passing through the corridor of the palace when his wandering glance alighted upon a maid, whose beauty firstly arrested his attention, and secondly, caused him to be assailed by an overwhelming and passionate emotion.

Investigation disclosed the fact that she was one Harriet Vernon, maid-of-honour to the Prince's mother. This was all for the good ; inflamed by a new sensation, George began to make his first advances. Flattered by his attentions, infatuated by his personal charm, Harriet was not loath to meet George in secret, and assignations were made, though it is difficult to believe that she anticipated the finale, or had any ulterior motive other than a sincere pleasure in the Prince's company.

This mutual attraction did not escape the keen eyes of the Queen : in a subtle manner she conveyed a warning to the Prince, but George was heedless of it. He pursued his course : irresistibly he carried Harriett with him along a way which is strewn with rose leaves—and thorns ! So " Prince Florizel " made his first conquest, and suffered no pangs of dismay when Harriet Vernon was dismissed and sent away.

It was soon afterward when George went to Drury Lane, and there, seeing the performance of Mrs. Robinson who took the part of Perdita, became enamoured of her fascinating charms.

The story of Perdita has been often told : of the Prince's wooing of her by moonlight under the walls of Kew Palace, while Lord Viscount Leporello, or the Duke of York kept watch : of his gradual battering down of her defences—probably she reversed the accepted dictum, and considered, in her case, the best form of attack was defence—of the Prince's suggested assignation at the Queen's House, to which lengths her audacity did not carry her, and finally of the sumptuous establishment in which George installed her as his mistress.

This *liaison* continued for two years, during which time George, only constant in his inconstancy, amused himself with other light-of-loves, among whom was a certain Mrs.

180 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

M—— who, with her husband, had apartments in the Palace.

It is recorded that, one night, the Prince narrowly escaped discovery, for having heard that the husband of this same frail lady was to spend the night elsewhere, he decided to take a very unprincely advantage of the fact, and by his own presence console her for the temporary loss. By unforeseen—very unforeseen—circumstances, however, Mr. M—— returned, with the disastrous consequences that George could not escape unseen from the apartments, and only missed being caught, *in flagrante delicto*, by slipping into a small adjoining ante-room.

Here he would have been little better off but for the promptitude of one Cholmondeley—he might well have spelled his name with a “y” in the middle—who, acting with a promptitude perhaps the result of practice, hurriedly informed Mr. M—— that George had demanded his immediate presence. Dutifully the husband repaired to the Prince’s apartments, but was informed that his Royal Highness was asleep, whereupon he returned to his own quarters, quite unsuspecting of his wife’s infidelity. Meanwhile, of course, George had effected his escape.

At the end of two years George tired of Perdita : he was finding that freshly plucked fruit tasted more sweet ; that the least thrill in a hunt is the kill. When the actress learned her fate there were tempestuous scenes ; finally the Prince bought her peace by presenting her a bond for £20,000, although to do her justice she genuinely loved her “ Prince Florizel,” and if eventually she became Fox’s mistress—who on his part loaned his own paramour, Mrs. Armstead, to the Prince—she did so as much from listlessness as for any pecuniary gain.

Meanwhile, when Fox—himself a grandson of Charles II on the left side—came into power with the Rockingham Ministry, George shared as much in his triumph as in the enmity of the King.

In 1783, the first of the many discussions concerning the Prince’s finances took place ; this time to consider the amount

of his future allowance. The Ministry—doubtless at the instigation of Fox—proposed an annual sum of £100,000, to be charged on the Civil List, but this the King refused to consider, as much too extravagant a sum, and suggested instead half the amount which he, himself, offered to pay. Ultimately, after much heated discussion on the part of everyone concerned, it was agreed that the Prince should be offered this sum, plus the Duchy of Cornwall, which was estimated at £13,000 a year, and an immediate sum of £30,000 to cover the debts which George had already managed to accumulate—no doubt, most of them on behalf of Perdita.

As soon as the Prince reached his majority he took his seat in the House of Lords, where he supported Fox, and leaving Queen's House, officially established himself at Carlton House, which was situated on the south side of Pall Mall, extending to St. James's Park.

Once established here George led, in a far greater measure than heretofore, a profligate and dissolute life which has scarcely a parallel in British history. In the years which followed he became surrounded by panderers and sycophants who made it a life's business to see that his slightest wish should be gratified, who scoured the country to find fresh beauties to whet the Prince's sensual appetite, who encouraged him in his viciousness, his debauchery—and his spending.

Here, at Carlton House, were held revels of the most licentious nature, entertainments, of which a whisper as to their nature would have caused his virtuous father and mother incredible horror. Few Eastern potentates could have overshadowed this florid, charming Prince of Wales in his glittering—and quasi-Oriental—depravity.

At the end of 1783, when Fox's Ministry fell, as he had shared in the Whig triumph so now he was forced to participate in their unpopularity. In high dudgeon he retired to Carlton House, where he associated with the Whig leaders, and indulged in an unceasing whirl of punching matches, horse racing, drinking bouts, and kindred amusements of a nature already indicated.

He gambled prodigiously, and bet unluckily ; indulged in expensive alterations to his home, which he had decorated in the ostentatious, ornate furnishing of which he was so fond, spent thirty thousand pounds a year on his horses, and lavished costly jewellery on his inamoratas : in fact, he spent his wealth—and more—as recklessly as he disposed of his physical stamina.

During these days he continued to frequent the low places of public amusement for which he had expressed so early a penchant. He was a frequent guest at the assemblies of Mrs. Cornelyn, the gardens of Vauxhall and Ranelagh, the Pantheon, where he invariably gathered around him ladies of fashion who neither dressed, thought, nor acted much differently to the professional courtesans, and whose affections were to be obtained as easily.

Sometimes, during his nocturnal gambolling, the Prince resorted to disguise, which, on one occasion, at least, involved him in an amusing incident. George had attended a masked ball, dressed up as a Spanish grandee, no doubt a role particularly suited to "The First Gentleman of Europe," but one which served sufficiently to conceal his identity.

As the evening wore on George imbibed a considerable amount of liquor. Consequently, when his glance mistily alighted upon a young girl, attired in the simple garb of the convent, he was attracted by her in a manner which brooked no opposition, notwithstanding that she was already escorted by a partner who was dressed up as a sailor.

Forthwith the Prince began to pay the nun such marked advances that the lady concerned became embarrassed, and her sailor friend annoyed ; but George, forgetting the decorum required of both himself and his role, continued his pestiferous attention until eventually her partner threatened to thrash him : a warning which, secure in the knowledge of his own identity, George treated with disdain, with consequences which were to be expected.

The two men fell into a violent dispute ; for the peace of the masquerade it was necessary to call in the constables, who

conveyed the whole party to the watch-house. Here the disputants were commanded to unmask and reveal themselves. They did so, the sailor to find that he quarrelled with the Heir-Apparent, George to discover that the sailor was a seaman indeed, being, in fact, his own brother, William, Duke of Clarence, who subsequently sat upon the throne of England. Needless to remark, the affair ended amicably, far more so than did other indiscretions of the Prince of Wales.

Meanwhile, in 1784, George met the one and only woman who ever left any permanent impression upon his pliable affections—a woman who has achieved a niche in history peculiarly her own—Mrs. Fitzherbert !

At the time the Prince met her, Mrs. Fitzherbert was an extraordinarily beautiful and accomplished woman of twenty-eight years of age, herself born of an extremely good family, and the widow of Mr. Fitzherbert, a rich landowner of Swinerton. George first saw her at Richmond, and never was his heart filled with a greater passion—perhaps, in her case, there was also as much of love in his emotion as he was capable of feeling.

In due course he made his preliminary proposals to her, but for the first time in his career they were received with scorn. Possibly George was surprised, and a little shocked that anyone should dare to look doubtfully upon him, but Mrs. Fitzherbert was eminently in a position to reject such suggestions : she was, taking into consideration his position, which it was essential for him to keep up, comparatively as rich as he, while her blood was almost as good as his own—some might say, infinitely more so. She was, indeed, an excellent *partie* for the highest in the land, excepting the Heir-Apparent himself.

Her attitude was an added spur to his passion—one cannot call his feeling love in its purest sense—the more she retreated from his pursuit, the more determined he became that he should achieve his desires.

At last he acted desperately, and with blatant theatricalness. To prove the genuineness and the depth of his feelings for her

184 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

he stabbed himself in a fleshy part of his body so as to promote a disgusting and sanguinary exhibition of himself. His efforts were entirely unsuccessful ; Mrs. Fitzherbert had no intention of becoming any man's mistress, so to escape his embarrassing attentions she fled to the Continent.

When this happened the Prince utterly lost his sense of perspective—and his reason—like a pampered child despoiled of a choice sweetmeat, he cried by the hour, tore out his hair in the approved style, rolled all over the floor, and babbled by the hour to Mrs. Armstead of his overwhelming love for the cruel-hearted widow !

Incredible as it may sound, George once again had his way. In the December of 1785, mutual friends prevailed upon Mrs. Fitzherbert to return to England, on condition the Prince married her, and on the 21st December they were joined together in holy matrimony by a Catholic priest.

CHAPTER XVII

QUEEN'S HOUSE (CONCLUDED)

IN 1784, the Prince of Wales, who, like the misunderstood Ludwig, the Mad King of Bavaria, had a mania for building, began to construct that most criticized of all buildings, the quasi-Indian-Chinese "palace," without which a Brighton Corporation dinner would be shorn of half its glory—the Royal Pavilion.

How much money it took to build this monstrosity, with its twenty-hundredweight chandeliers, its gaudy Oriental gods and dragons, its exotic flamboyant furnishings, probably will never be accurately computed: possibly the figure is not much less than one million pounds. At any rate, by the end of the year George found himself in debt to the tune of £160,000. In hopeless straits he turned to his father for help—sure proof of his desperation—and blithely promised to retrench by retiring to the Continent and living incognito, apparently oblivious of the fact that his shallow soul, satiated with flattery, was as incapable of the first condition as it was of the second.

The King refused both his permission for the Prince to travel, and his assistance—financial or otherwise—which action is not above criticism, for even if he had little excuse for failing to do his duty as a father, he had none for neglecting the Heir-Apparent.

The result of his father's decision was to cause the Prince more and more embarrassment as the months went by, and his debts piled up. At last, in 1786, he went direct to the Ministry and applied for a parliamentary vote of a quarter of a million pounds.

To encourage this measure going through the Prince diplomatically proposed—as a sop to his father—to lay aside an annual sum of £40,000 for the sole purpose of paying off back debts, and as proof of his genuine desire to reform, he broke up his establishment, closed part of Carlton House, and auctioned his horses and carriages. After this he honoured his friends by living with, and on, them ; accepting the loan of their guineas with as regal graciousness as he borrowed their conveyances.

This, as it happened, was an excellent stroke of diplomacy. His friends became so dissatisfied with the royal patronage that they met together, and early the following year decided to appeal to Parliament to help him—and, incidentally, themselves—out of financial embarrassment.

Unfortunately, for George, about this time it was whispered that, in direct contravention to the Royal Marriage Act of 1772, which his father had forced through Parliament, the Prince of Wales had secretly married, without obtaining the necessary consent of the King ; moreover, that his wife was a Roman Catholic. This rumour gained force when it was known that George was living openly with Mrs. Fitzherbert, in fact in Society she was treated as his wife.

In consequence of this alliance the chances of Parliament's granting assistance to the Prince began to seem remote, especially when the most influential of the Whigs withdrew their support of him, readily foreseeing that the championing of his cause might possibly harm their party. Desperate, out of favour with King, and with the Whig party, harassed by creditors, the Prince committed the meanest and most contemptible act of his unsavoury life : he authorized and instructed Fox to make in Parliament an emphatic denial of his being married or his having taken part in a marriage ceremony of any nature whatsoever.

The Prince's word being his bond, Pitt could no longer see his way to refuse the required assistance, so George was granted an extra £10,000 a year from the Civil List, an immediate sum of £161,000 to discharge his debts, and a further

£20,000 to complete Carlton House. It is useless to add that, in expressing his thanks for this munificent gift, George gave his sincere promise not to offend again. It is significant, too, that, despite the official denial of the marriage, Mrs. Fitzherbert was treated with all the respect worthy of a Princess, *which certainly would not have been the case if Society had deemed her other than his wife.*

It was a matter of weeks only before George once again proved the negative value of his word : with his companions, the Duke of York, Fox, Sheridan, Lord Rawdon, Colonel George Hanger, and last but not least, that brilliant, audacious, and now immortal Beau Brummell, he plunged once again into an orgy of fast and extravagant living.

Under the tutorage of Brummell—who, of all the Prince's cronies did him the least harm, and the most good—he became the best dressed man in all Europe—with the exception of Brummell himself—but in doing so he squandered an incalculable amount.

Encouraged by Fox and Company, he drank to excess, and gambled unceasingly, losing thousands of pounds nightly at a club which he himself had founded. Moreover, he continued his vicious adventures with the fair sex, regardless of his wife, to whom he was no more constant than he was to any other woman. To complete the list of reprehensible delinquencies to which this poor piece of human clay was addicted, he frequented houses of ill-fame, such as those conducted by Mrs. Collett, Mrs. James, and Mrs. Berkeley.

Such extenuating circumstances as force themselves into notice are, however, worthy of mention. It must not be forgotten that, as an individual, he was the possessor of a fascinating personality which, at times, justified the appellation of "First Gentleman of Europe." He dressed magnificently—the only word to describe his sartorial activities—he was not unhandsome, though he did not own the good looks of his father ; his manners were courtly, his accomplishments numerous. In addition to his personal charms, there was attached to him the glamour of his position.

188 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

Under these circumstances he had little difficulty in overcoming the scruples of women who were only too eager to throw themselves into his arms. It was not necessary for the Prince to search for adventure ; it must have been considerably more difficult for him to have avoided it—and men are not so strongly moulded that they can easily resist temptations of that sort.

In addition to the number of frail beauties who were only too anxious to sell their virtue for a handful of jewellery, seductive enough to make many men look askance at the stony path of righteousness, the Prince was surrounded by a company of self-seekers, who became his panderers in the hope of their own advancement, and scoured the country in search of women to refresh what was beginning to be a sated appetite.

In 1788 the King lost his reason—due, as previously indicated, to constant political intrigue, and worry concerning his eldest son. This resulted in a violent scene when, summoned to Windsor, the Prince of Wales visited his father. King George, at the sight of his son, rushed violently at him, seized him by the collar and flung him against the wall. The Prince was so overcome that he burst into tears !

When it became evident that a Regency would have to be established, a positive warfare of intrigue broke out, in which the Prince, the Queen, the Tories and the Whigs battled, both for the Regency and the custody of the King, to which fierce four-handed engagement the King himself eventually put an effective stop by recovering his reason, and taking over control of his own affairs again.

Meanwhile the memory of the harassed life he had led before his debts were paid did no more to restrict the Prince's expenditure than the thought of the promise he had lightly made to reform. By the end of the following year he was almost as much in debt again, and was treated with scant courtesy by his creditors, who did not hesitate to dun him in the open streets. Nervous to apply to Parliament so soon, he brightly hit upon a scheme of raising money abroad, which

he did, obtaining large sums upon the security of the bishopric of Osnaburg—he was Heir-Apparent also to the Kingdom of Hanover.

Interest at six per cent per annum was paid upon the loan until the year 1792, but upon the bonds reaching maturity and being presented for payment, all liability was repudiated by the Prince's agents, and when the unfortunate lenders crossed over to England and began to raise a clamour, they were expelled from the country under the Alien Act, and hustled back to the Continent, where some of them lost their heads under the guillotine.

That the future King of England indulged in deliberate fraud is undeniable: that he went further, and by underground channels connived at the murder of those who had lent him their money, seems almost as certain. Nevertheless, he blithely continued living the same old life, careless that he was penniless—like Nero, Rome might burn so long as he could carry on his amusements.

At length his affairs became so involved, and his creditors so pressing, that he consented to marry, a course which the country had long urged upon him, paradoxically anxious for him to propagate an heir, perhaps to carry on his evil traditions—one might think that the country would have been glad for the Hanover line to die out, for with the one exception of the third George—and he as a monarch certainly was not above reproach—the country had been ill served by the Hanover line. Always optimistic, however, the British public was looking for the future heir—to the extent even of forgiving George yet again, and paying off his debts—by this time they had amounted to the colossal total of £370,000.

His future wife was found in the Princess of Brunswick—one can scarcely conceive to what extent she could have sinned in a past or present life thus to have been punished by being promised to George, Prince of Wales.

At this time, however, she little suspected the fate that was to be hers, for she received letters from the Prince of Wales which were full of ardour and sentiment, written in the

florid, flamboyant style of which he was master—originator, almost.

The Prince did not limit his seeming happiness at the coming union to the sending of correspondence. He instructed Mr. Jeffery, a jeweller who supplied most of the pretty trinkets to the Prince's mistresses—much to the poor man's cost, for he was never paid in full—to prepare a setting for a miniature picture of the Prince, which was to be sent to Brunswick as a present for the Princess, surrounded by brilliants, and hung by a brilliant chain, the total cost of which amounted to £2500.

As soon as Mr. Jeffery had finished this gift, together with the Prince, he took it to Queen's House, to submit it to the approbation of the Queen, but Charlotte denounced it as not being sufficiently elegant for the occasion, so the jeweller was ordered to prepare another one to cost not less than £4000—which anecdote scarcely substantiates the Queen's niggardly propensities.

By November 1794 all negotiations had been completed, so Lord Malmesbury was despatched to Brunswick with a formal proposal for the hand of the Princess, and the following March the Princess Caroline left her native country *en route* for England.

The party arrived at Greenwich on the 5th of April. Here, among others who greeted the Princess, was the notorious Lady Jersey, at that time the Prince's favourite mistress, who was appointed lady-in-waiting to Caroline.

Lady Jersey, like many of the lesser lights of her adopted profession, was the daughter of a man of God, Phillip Twysden, Bishop of Raphoe, but the only good she inherited from her father was his name, for veritably, when Caroline took her to her bosom, she cherished a viper, albeit an attractive one. Already Lady Jersey had separated her lover from one wife, and now, even before they were married, she intended to separate him from another.

Like a good general, she attacked early : with honeyed words she commenced her campaign as soon as she gained the

ear of the Princess, and there is no doubt that during the few hours which elapsed before the wedding took place she prejudiced the Princess against her future husband even before they met.

In due course the bride-to-be arrived at Queen's House, where the Prince was introduced to her. It is said, on good authority, that he was so overcome by the meeting that, having kissed her, he staggered to the other end of the room, and was compelled to ask for brandy to revive himself.

Later the royal family dined together at the Queen's House. As soon as the meal was over it was necessary for them all to disperse to their different residences to dress for the coming ceremony, and as the Princess was leaving the King kissed her, after which he turned to the Prince and shook him by the hand until "mutual tears started from the eyes of father and son"—no doubt genuine on the part of the father, but if the Prince of Wales shed tears it was due to the wine of which he had freely partaken during the meal, and perhaps, in part, to the pressure of the King's hands.

Later on the bridal party assembled together in the Queen's apartment, and, once ready for the ceremony, proceeded thence to the royal chapel of St. James's, which was crowded to capacity, where the service was conducted by Dr. Moore, the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Meanwhile the groom, a hard drinker at the best of times, had nerved himself for the ceremony by imbibing courage of the Dutch variety, until, as a consequence, he had become so intoxicated that he was unable to stand, and only remained upright because of the support which his attendant grooms-men supplied.

After the final benediction was given their Majesties held a Drawing-Room, which was brilliantly attended; upon its close the family returned to Queen's House to sup *en famille*, but throughout the meal the newly married couple took absolutely no notice of each other, while the Prince did not let pass the opportunity of further drowning his sorrow—which could not have been greater than that of the Princess Caroline.

192 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

At midnight the bridal pair departed for Carlton House, and reached there after having quarrelled *en route*.

The honeymoon was spent partly at Windsor, partly at Kempshott, after which a separation in all but legality took place, which, for the two people concerned, was for the best, for there was no affection on either side, while George treated the Princess with less courtesy than his servants—to whom, strangely enough, he was an excellent master.

On the 27th of April his financial position was once again laid before Parliament, when it was discovered that the amount which the Prince owed at the time of his marriage was £642,890 4s. 4d., made up as follows :

Debt on various securities, and bearing interest	£500,571 19 1
Trademen's bills unpaid	89,745 0 0
Ditto, and arrears of establishment from 10th Oct., 1794, to 5th April, 1795 .	52,573 5 3

To meet the added expenditure incurred by his marriage, Parliament agreed, by a fair majority, to grant the Prince a total income of £140,000, together with an immediate sum of £28,000 for jewellery, and £26,000 for Carlton House, while it was proposed to liquidate his debts by allotting an annual sum of £25,000.

On the 7th of January, 1796, his daughter Charlotte was born, and as soon as the mother had sufficiently recovered, a final separation took place, the Prince writing an insulting letter to Princess Caroline, formally renouncing further cohabitation. After this he lived mostly at Windsor and Brighton, while Charlotte continued to live at Carlton House, but as soon as she went to Blackheath he once more resumed occupancy of his own home, where he often held wild orgies, more reminiscent of ancient Rome in its most decadent days than of the eighteenth century.

The fact that he was a father did not serve to make him express any regard for the proprieties of fatherhood in general, still less the responsibility of bringing up the Heiress to the



GEORGE III
From a painting by H. Edridge.

throne of England. It meant as little to him as did the existence of a religious wife on the one hand and a legal wife on the other ; for he continued to insult them both by his promiscuous affairs.

Beside, the many women who amused him for so little a time that posterity knows no more than that they existed, he took for his mistress, at some time or other in his life, the famous Mrs. Billington, pupil of Bach and popular singer, who was often asked by the King and Queen to sing at the Queen's House. This lady reigned but a short time : the Prince could not stand her vulgarity and coarse manners.

Then there was another actress, a Mrs. Crouch, whom he loaded with jewels—which he obtained on credit—and gave beside many sums of money, as much as ten thousand pounds in one instance.

Another lady with whom he had intimate relations was La Carnovolla, the wife of an Italian musician. In this case, the Prince rewarded the complaisant husband by having him promoted to the managership of the Opera House—to which the gratified Italian afterward set fire.

At Brighton—where Mrs. Fitzherbert had a house near enough to be connected to the Pavilion by an underground tunnel which still exists—he discovered a girl whose figure was no less beautiful than her face. She was utterly ignorant and illiterate, but her naïve simplicity and innocence so appealed to the Prince, who looked forward to becoming her tutor and educating her to matters not usually taught at school, that he arranged to elope with her and take her to London. All arrangements had been made, the chaise stood ready to carry them to the metropolis when, through chance conversation, George discovered that, far from being the *ingénue* he imagined, she was actually the mistress of his bosom friend, George Hanger.

Another affair which ended less happily—as far as he was concerned—was his intrigue with the wife of a City sheriff. This man was entertaining the Prince to dinner, at the end of which his wife rose, and, soon after was followed by the

Prince. The host became alarmed at the Heir-Apparent's lengthy absence, and went in search of him ; unlike Mr. M., the sheriff discovered George in the fair lady's bedroom. In his fury the sheriff rushed at the Prince, who promptly fled, and only escaped by clambering over a wall, on the other side of which was a heap of objectionable refuse !

So the list continues : Lucy Howard, Mrs. Bristow, Lady Macerene, Louise Sillisberg, Lady Hertford, and dozens of others, for the Prince's panderers combed the country well, even to enticing schoolgirls out of their colleges, temporarily to interest George.

Such was the private life of George, Prince of Wales—in fact by now, so open was the scandal connected with his name that one might say, his “ public ” life. Meanwhile, every time his father suffered another period of mental trouble, the argument was again raised as to the Regency ; but each time George III recovered and the Prince was baulked of his desire to rule the country.

During the years which followed his separation from his wife, his relations with her, and his daughter, grew more acute ; they were not rendered easier by the interest displayed by the King and Queen in Princess Caroline, and their grandchild Charlotte. The more George III expressed friendliness toward Caroline, the more uncivil and rebellious the Prince became toward his father. The situation was not improved when the Prince again applied to the King for permission to join the army, to meet with the same reply as before. In this case the younger man insultingly published part of the correspondence, with the consequence as related in a previous chapter, that the breach between father and son widened until it was wellnigh irreparable.

At last, in 1811, the Prince achieved his long-cherished desire and became Regent, thus virtually beginning his reign, and with execrable taste celebrated the occasion by holding an expensive entertainment at Carlton House, during which he slighted Mrs. Fitzherbert.

Political events did not move any the more easily with the

Regent at the helm. Almost daily he veered from one Minister to another : both Whigs and Tories were as uncertain of him as he was of them.

His conflict with the Princess Caroline continued more bitterly than ever, especially when the Princess Charlotte, now beginning to reveal a decided will of her own, warmly espoused her mother's cause. Both furious and jealous, the Prince Regent tried to part mother and daughter, after which he deprived his wife of residence in Kensington Palace, then, finding the sole responsibility of managing a daughter more trouble than he wished to have on his shoulders, he tried to marry her to the Prince of Orange, but without any success. Later personal affairs cased up : Princess Charlotte became engaged to Prince Leopold while Caroline went abroad.

The romance of Charlotte's engagement to Leopold was highly satisfactory to the public. While they respected George III, hated the Prince Regent, and sympathised with Princess Caroline, they adored Charlotte for her own sweet and promising nature, feelings which were not lessened by the knowledge that, despite the nine sons which George III's heirs had brought into the world, Charlotte, the only daughter of the Prince Regent, was the sole living grandchild of the decaying King.

Her marriage went off brilliantly, and in nearly every respect was similar to the marriage of Princess Mary, so adequately described by Holt. Judge then the horror and dismay which swept the country when, not a year after her marriage, she died. There was universal grief, as much for the idea of such a lovely girl dying in the early spring of her life, as for the fact that the succession was seriously endangered by her demise. With the eventual death of George III's sons, the Hanover line would die out !

The Hon. Amelia Murray, writing of the tragedy, says :

“ I have heard Queen Charlotte accused of neglecting her granddaughter, and I have reason to think that some people still believe she was wanting in attention and advice. This is most unjust.

"The Queen did not consider Sir Richard Croft as a safe adviser ; but as the Princess, like many other young people, was impatient of recommendations which she considered uncalled for, her grandmother found it useless to interfere, and, being then very ill herself, she followed the advice of her own physicians and went to Bath.

"I am positively of opinion that Princess Charlotte was starved to death ! that the Heiress of England died from insufficient nourishment ! A lady I know found the Princess one day actually in tears over her luncheon of tea and bread and butter. She had been accustomed to to take a mutton chop and a glass of wine, and she said she felt quite weak for want of it, Sir Richard having forbidden any meat in the middle of the day. But she required a generous diet and having always been used to it she felt the loss, yet the orders of her physicians were strictly obeyed, and I think her life was the sacrifice. On the fatal termination of her illness Sir Richard Croft rushed into a room where Mrs. Campbell was and exclaimed : ' She is dead, and the child too ! ' and set off to London and destroyed himself. . . ."

Within a few months there was another death in the Royal family, this time one of considerable importance to this history, for on the 17th of November, 1818, Queen Charlotte died, and the house in which she had lived so long, and had passed so many hours, fell automatically into the hands of the Prince Regent. Two years later George III died, and the Prince Regent became King. "The King is dead ; long live the King !" —King George IV—the worst rake in history to govern an embittered and disillusioned people !

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The first thing George did as King was to make arrangements to pay off his debts, the second to attack the new Queen who, at the news of the death of George III, made

arrangements to return to England, and to try and prevent this embarrassing and inconvenient reunion.

It was in his power to carry out the first, but not the second. Caroline reached England about the beginning of June.

During the months which followed, the King was too busy overlooking the arrangements for his Coronation to pay much heed to other matters, and naturally, he did not hesitate to thrust aside any consideration of economy. Just as he spent during his Regency, when he bought furniture to the extent of £100,000 for Carlton House, and paid his silversmith £130,000, so now he ordered robes which cost £24,000 and a crown for which he had to pay £54,000. All this the people had to finance, yet the general public was excluded completely from the actual ceremony and its attendant pomp. Naturally this preliminary step in the reign of the new King did not tend to make him more popular.

Nevertheless, there was an unrehearsed incident of the Coronation of which the public had the doubtful benefit. Previous to the ceremony, Queen Caroline claimed the right of being crowned—a moral if not a legal right. George refused to consider her claim but shifted the responsibility of refusal on to the Privy Council, who reported that: "it appeared to them that the queens-consort of this realm are not entitled as of right to be crowned at the time specified in her memorials."

Disappointed by this report, the Queen then demanded a suitable seat from which to view the ceremony, but, at the instigation of the King, the acting Earl Marshal, Lord Howard of Effingham, refused to grant her this request. Baulked in every direction she next wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury saying she desired to be crowned some few days after the King, but the worthy prelate replied that he could not act without orders from his Sovereign.

This, then, was the situation on the day of the Coronation of King George IV. During the hours immediately preceding the appointed hour, the crowds flocked round Westminster watching the flow of invited nobles and bigwigs through the doors of the Abbey. Almost at the last minute the Queen

drove up, accompanied by Lord and Lady Hood, and Lady Anne Hamilton. Charlotte demanded to enter. "Let me pass, I am your Queen. I am the Queen of Britain," she commanded imperiously, but the door-keeper with a courage and an audacity which must have betokened the support of the King's authority, resisted: unless she produced the necessary ticket he would not let her through! Eventually the party retreated, accompanied by the sympathy of the sight-seers. Within a few weeks the uncrowned Queen—not the first in the history of the Hanover dynasty—was dead.

During the next two years the King visited Ireland, Scotland, and Hanover, but in 1822 he began his complete retirement from public life—he, who had revelled in it! The truth was that he was sated, worn-out by his excesses, also that he was being overtaken by the misfortune which his *father had dreaded, indeed had almost killed himself to check*—corpulence! Afraid of ridicule, he shut himself away with Lady Conyngham at Brighton and Windsor—what agonies he must have suffered when Beau Brummell aimed his last parting shaft at George—"Who is your fat friend?" Fat friend! For that George never forgave his old companion.

In 1825, the King decided to build himself a new palace—the fate of Queen's House was sealed!

CHAPTER XVIII

BUCKINGHAM PALACE: GEORGE IV

WHEN George first mooted his proposal to build himself a new palace on the site of Queen's House, he met with violent opposition. Already he had spent on building vast sums which the nation could ill afford. In addition to the immense amount he had spent on altering, furnishing, and redecorating Carlton House, and building the Pavilion at Brighton, he had also expended a very considerable sum in restoring Windsor Castle, raising the height of its walls, and building the tall flag-turret, which work had been carried out by the Court architect, Sir Jeffery Wyattville.

In face of the wealth which the King had already flung away, it is not surprising that Parliament refused to vote the necessary money for a new building; but George, having made up his mind that he should have a palace to rival that of any monarch in Europe, conspired with an architect, John Nash, of whom more anon, as to the best means of overcoming Parliamentary objections. As a result it was decided between them that the word "repairs," would cover the necessary alterations, which proposal the King put before the House.

By exerting discreet pressure, George was able to gain his point: under the title of repairing and improving Queen's (or Buckingham) House (6 Geo. IV, c. 77) it was passed that the estimated expenses for this work, £252,690, should be defrayed out of the land revenue of the Crown, and by the Department of Woods and Forests. Forthwith Nash began his work, and Buckingham House, which had been built just over a hundred years previously, became once again a mass of dust and rubble—literally from "dust to dust"!

This Nash was an architect of Welsh extraction, who, having worked up a large public and private practice, came to London. Here he gained the patronage of the royal family—and, in consequence, that of society as well—for some reason or other becoming a favourite of the Prince Regent. In 1811, when Marybone, where Buckingham gambled every winter, fell again into the possession of the Crown, Parliament passed a wise Act to transform it into a public park, the design of which was put into the hands of Nash. This park became Regent's Park: a perpetual memorial to one who is better forgotten.

It next became necessary for the Regent to be able to ride in peace and directness to the Park, and for this purpose it was proposed to build a wide street direct from the Prince Regent's residence, Carlton House, to the entrance of the Park, so, in 1813, Parliament passed an Act to this effect, and Nash drew up the plans for a street of this nature, which were duly accepted.

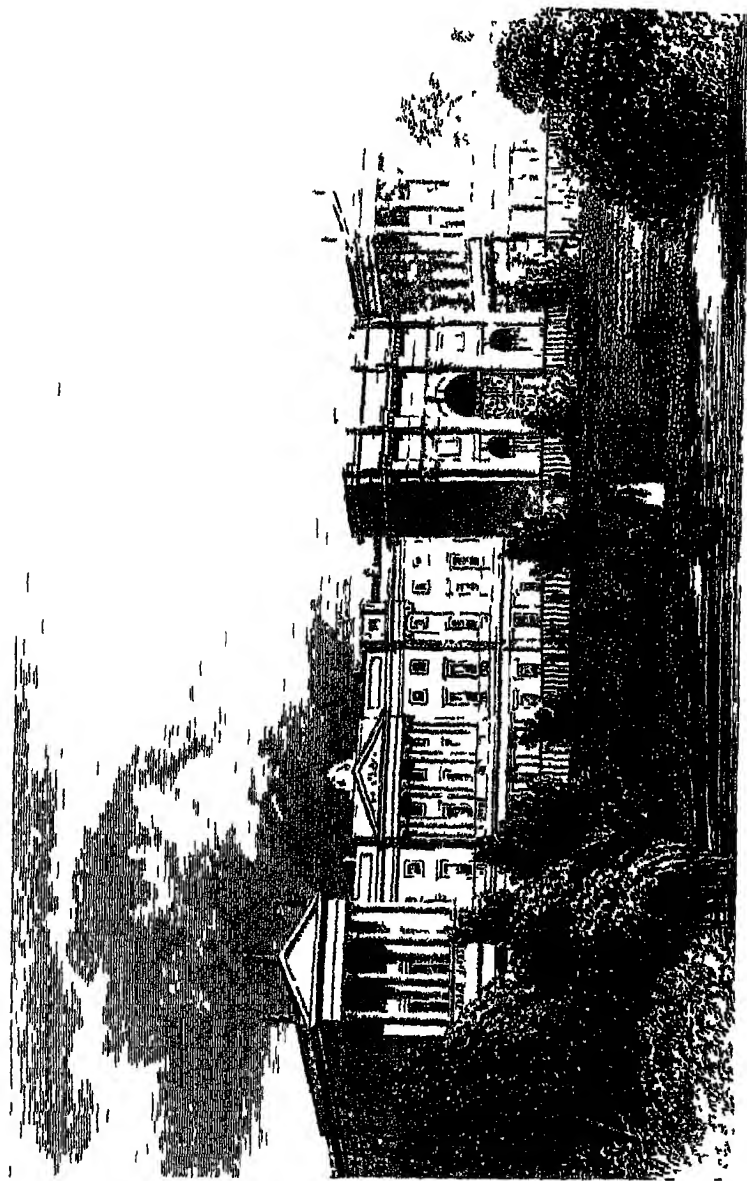
As already indicated, this street is not without indirect associations with this history, for the first thing it did, after starting out from Carlton House, was to sweep away St. Alban's Street, and the group of small roads which was known as St. James's Market, in which Hannah Lightfoot was once to be found.

At last, from being indirectly associated with Buckingham House, Nash, of whom a wit, referring to his penchant for stucco, penned the following lines:

Augustus at Rome was for building renown'd,
For of marble he left what of brick he had found;
But is not our Nash, too, a very great master?
He finds us all brick and he leaves us all plaster.

—became directly, and unhappily, connected with it, for in 1825 the great work commenced.

The people were disgusted beyond measure. Still poor from the Napoleonic wars, they viewed this new extravagance with unconcealed anger, and an outburst of criticism followed, mostly in the form of lampoons and caricature. Here, for



BUCKINGHAM PALACE, FROM THE GARDENS
From a contemporary print

instance, is what one anonymous rhymster has to say of the King :

These are THE PEOPLE all tatter'd and torn,
Who curse the day wherein they were born,
On account of Taxation too great to be borne,
And pray for relief, from night to morn ;
Who, in vain, Petition in every form,
Who, peaceably meeting to ask for Reform,
Were sabred by Yeomanry Cavalry,
 who,
Were thank'd by THE MAN, all shaven and shorn,
All cover'd with Orders—and all forlorn ;
THE DANDY OF SIXTY, who bows with a grace,
And has *taste* in wigs, collars, cuirasses, and lace ;
Who, to bucksters, and fools, leaves the State and its treasure,
And when Britain's in tears, sails about at his pleasure ;
Who spurn'd from his presence the Friends of his youth,
And now has not one who will tell him the truth,
Who looks to his counsels, in evil hour,
The Friend to the Reasons of lawless Power,
That back the Public Informer, who
Would put down the *Thing*, that, in spite new Acts,
And attempts to restrain it, by Soldiers or Tax,
Will *poison* the Vermin, that plunder the Wcalth,
That lay in the House, that Jack built.

The first thing Nash did was to raze the old building to the ground, and obeying the letter, if not the spirit, of the condition of the Parliamentary grant, designed an entirely new palace, keeping strictly to the original site and elevation of the old building.

The work of "repairing" the old building was as slow in revealing concrete results as it was quick in disposing of the original grant of money allotted for the purpose ; consequently, when the Select Committee on the Office of Works and Public Buildings met it was found that in : " consequence of extraordinary charges upon the revenue to a very considerable amount, some of which had not been foreseen or ascertained at the time of passing that act, and also with the unexpected rapidity with which the alterations had proceeded at the palace

the work must soon have been suspended for want of funds to continue it, if a supply from a source wholly unlooked-for and unexpected had not been advanced by orders of the Commissioners of the Treasury in aid of this deficiency. Your committee conceive that it does not come within their province to do more than to notice this transaction as having enabled the Office of Woods and Forests to meet the heavy charge by other resources than those which were by law appropriated to it. This supply amounted to £250,000. What has hitherto been actually paid from the land revenue is £27,760, in addition to that sum, and there is a probability that the surplus of that revenue will in this year be capable of affording about £60,000 and in 1829 about £100,000. The last revenue varies from year to year in consequence of fines upon renewals, but the whole, including that of the woods and forests, may be taken at about £200,000 a year. The estimated charge for completing the palace is £432,926, including the above sum of £277,767, which has already been paid."

No wonder the lampoonists continued their attacks. The poets did not mince their words, and in due course T. Hume produced the following parody, which he illustrated and entitled "The Palace that N——II Built."

This is the Man whom they Johnny Bull call,
 And who very reluctantly pays for it all,
 Who from his youth upwards has work'd like a slave,
 But the devil a shilling is able to save ;
 For such millions expended in mortar and stone,
 Have drawn corpulent John down to bare skin and bone ;
 And, what is still worse, 'tween Greeks, 'Turks, and Russians
 He'll soon be at war with French, Austrians, and Prussians.
 But he's kindly permitted to grumble and gaze,
 Say and think what he will, *provided he pays* ;
 To rail at the Palace and Triumphal Arch,
 Which, 'tis said, will be probably finish'd in March,
 (And, compared with the elegant gates of Hyde Park,
 May justly be term'd tasteless, gloomy, and dark,)
 Which leads to the large Pond of Water, or Basin,
 Where the Royal Narcissus may see his dear face in,

Ere he rove 'mongst the Pyramids, Temples, and Ditches,
 Where Naiads and Cupids are seen without breeches,
*(For such things in West are allow'd, and thought pretty,
 Though Venus and Cupids daren't go in the City,)*
 Who preside o'er the Fountains, the Promenades, and Rides,
 (And 'twould puzzle old Harry to tell what besides,)
 Which lead from the Hill, the magnificent Mound,
 Thrown up in the garden, full half a mile round,
 Thickly planted with trees, and as high as a steeple,
 To protect from the breeze and to hide from the people—
 These much-talk'd-of Wings which by estimate round
 Are said to have cost forty two thousand pound,
 And which not quite according with Royalty's taste,
 Are doomed to come down and be laid into waste ;
 (So to make up the loss of such changing and chopping,
 The pay of poor clerks they're eternally docking,)
 But they touch not the beautiful Ball in the Cup,
 Which the tasteful Committee in wisdom set up
 On the top of the Palace that N——H built.

The " Ball in the Cup " referred to in the parody was the famous—or infamous—dome which received terribly adverse criticism, and was mentioned in the same report of the Select Committee, an extract of which has already been quoted. " With regard to the dome above the roof of the palace, Mr. Nash deems it unfortunate that it is visible from the park side, which was not intended by him, nor was he aware that it would have been seen, except as belonging exclusively to the garden front."

A confession of this sort from such a noted architect reveals his true worth, and as if this were not enough, the Committee discloses another weakness. ". . . His Majesty's palace in St. James's Park, is now undergoing very considerable alterations, not originally contemplated, for the purpose of rectifying a defect, which scarcely could have occurred if a model of the entire edifice had previously been made and duly examined. Mr. Nash says, in answer to a question relating to the two detailed three-windowed houses at the extreme angles of the wings : ' I was not at first aware that the effect would have been so bad ; and I am sorry to say that I was

disappointed myself in the effect of them.' The consequence of this alteration, thus occasioned, will increase the interior accommodation by adding twenty-seven new apartments to the present number, but it is estimated at no less a sum than £50,000."

While Nash continued to make mistakes, and the people continued to pay for them, George IV grew fatter, and correspondingly more retiring, until he even took precautions that he should never be seen while he was driving in Windsor Park. He became a sorry spectacle, that of a decaying satyr, spending his days drinking milk-punch, and exchanging pleasantries with a woman as unpleasant as himself.

As far as the country was concerned he had less interest in the people whom he ruled than ever before. When Ministers hastened to Windsor on urgent business he kept them waiting for hours. Politically he would have been impossible, except that weakness invariably followed his invariable indecision.

Like his father before him, he gradually drooped: he grew dropsical and gouty, and suffered from chronic inflammation of the bladder, and toward the end of 1828 he had every appearance of falling a victim to his father's malady, but though he skirted the border-line of insanity he never actually crossed it.

By February 1830, he became partially blind, and it became apparent that the end was not far off. In April he was worse, and drove in the Park for the last time on the 12th: on the 25th of June he died, and was succeeded by his brother, William, Duke of Clarence.

Meanwhile the new palace, though work had been proceeding for five years, was not yet finished—the man who was responsible for Buckingham Palace as it is, substantially, at the present day, never lived to occupy it. As a matter of fact, it is doubtful, in view of his horror of being seen by more people than was absolutely necessary, whether he ever would have resided in it, even had he lived to see it completed.

One item of interest commends itself as being worthy of mention, before passing on to the next phase of this history.

George IV, though at one period of his life he cultivated literature to relieve the *blasé* indifference with which he was beginning to view the world, never had the same interest in it as had his father. Consequently, when the famous library of George III fell into his hands he looked upon it only as a realizable asset, the sale of which would provide another small fortune to be frittered away on some woman.

His first tentative suggestion created an outcry, so, yielding to pressure, he made then his one and only gracious gesture toward his people by presenting the library to the nation—as one writer caustically remarks, a small return for all the nation's wealth he had squandered.

Eventually this collection was housed in what is now the world-renowned British Museum.

CHAPTER XIX

BUCKINGHAM PALACE : WILLIAM IV

IT has been observed that the new palace was not finished when William IV first sat on the throne, and although the monarch completed the work his brother had commenced, he ridiculed the result, and never occupied it. For that reason it is not proposed to dwell at any length upon his biography, which, in any case, is scarcely as interesting as that of others more intimately connected with the palace.

In 1831, Nash retired from business, and settled in the Isle of Wight, where he died four years later at the age of eighty-two. By this time work on the palace had evidently been stopped, for Huish, in this same year, writes :

“The representatives of the people could not be brought to vote any further sum for the completion of this palace, and it now stands as a monstrous insult upon the nation, and a monument of the reckless extravagance of its projector.”

He adds a curious footnote ancient this paragraph :

“This cumbrous pile now hangs as a dual weight upon the nation. It is never intended to finish it as a royal residence, and, like York House, it may one day become the residence of some opulent nobleman. It is computed that half a million is yet required for its completion independently of furniture. The Duke of *Northumberland* is spoken of as the most probable purchaser, it having been refused by Lord *Grosvenor*.”

By this time the building was no longer Queen's House, the popular name for it being Pimlico Palace ; while it was

sometimes called St. George's Palace, or more simply New Palace.

Meanwhile, the famous arch which George had had designed for the entrance was but half completed. In his dreams of a palatial residence, he had gone to Rome for the basic design for his entrance, so that the imposing arch which stood in front of the new palace, was in size and general effect very similar to that of Constantine's.

A full description of how George IV had originally intended this arch to be designed was published in "Fraser's Magazine" in 1830, and was written as a counter-attack to Hume's parody. No other writer has penned such a full—and fulsome—and complete survey of the palace as it then was.

This enthusiastic eulogist begins his long defence of the palace by wasting much valuable space in arguing that, far from the scheme being an extravagant waste of public money at a time when poverty and distress abounded in every direction, the building of the palace might be considered in the light of a bounty, thrust on the country by a benevolent monarch with the sole idea of alleviating the lot of the unemployed, cunningly pointing out that two thousand families were being maintained by the erection of the new palace and the alterations at Windsor Castle, who would otherwise be destitute.

Having thus covered several close-printed pages, the writer continues by appending a detailed description of the State apartments as designed by George IV, from which the following extracts have been taken.

He begins by referring to the approach from the Mall, which consisted of a fine avenue leading up to the Triumphal Arch.

"This arch," he writes, "has three gateways ; the centre one rises to the architrave. Over the two side gates are tablets, containing on the one side female representatives of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and on the other the genius of England inviting youth. Between each arch or gateway is a column,

208 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

twenty feet high, of one block ; these columns will support groups of trophies and figures. Behind these groups is a representation in bold relief of the battle of Waterloo. Above this is a large pedestal with statues of Victory at each corner, having in the centre Europe and Asia, bearing the bust of the Duke of Wellington. Surmounting the whole will be an equestrian statue in bronze of his Majesty. The side of the triumphal arch facing the Palace presents emblems and decorations of a similar character to those on the other side. Over the small gateways are figures of Valour and Virtue on one side and Peace and Plenty on the other. Occupying the same place with the representation of Waterloo is the battle of Trafalgar in bold relief, and corresponding with Europe and Asia, bearing the bust of the Duke of Wellington, is Britannia with her attendants contemplating a medallion of Nelson. The whole of this gorgeous pile will, when finished, be about sixty feet high. The gates are to be of mosaic gold, and the palisade which is to connect it with the wings of the Palace are to be spears of the richest workmanship that has yet been executed for such a purpose in that superb metal."

Ultimately Britannia was turned into Minerva by chipping off Nelson's head from her shield, and was set up over the keeper's entrance to the Royal Academy. The Victories and three of the colossal figures were placed in niches under the portico. The bas-reliefs were placed along the façade of the palace and were hidden by Blore's front. Others disappeared, no trace being found of them.

According to Walford, owing to the mismanagement of the Government, the metal gates referred to above were nearly ruined, for, having been executed by Samuel Parker at the cost of three thousand guineas, and thus become the most superb gates in Europe, they were conveyed from the manufacturer to their destination in a "common stage wagon," consequently, during transit, the semi-circular head, apparently the most beautiful portion of the design, was irretrievably damaged.



GEORGE IV, AS PRINCE OF WALES
From a picture by T. Phillips

Further descriptions in " Fraser's Magazine " reveal that, however dowdy the exterior of the palace might have been, the interior at least was royally and magnificently planned,—in the opinion of that writer, at any rate :

" *Hall*. Here the taste and skill of the architect justly entitle him to great applause. The ceiling is only eighteen feet high ; but he has so arranged the double columns which support it, that the eye is at once attracted to details, and the attention taken from the general defect of the lowness of the ceiling by statues placed in front of these coupled columns, and by the white marble pavement being surrounded by a mosaic border, formed of different marbles, as a Vitruvian scroll.

" *Guard Chambers*. Ascending from the hall by a wide flight of steps is a superb guard chamber, about one hundred and twenty feet in length, also ornamented with marble pillars, each of a single block.

" *The Great Staircase*. On the left hand, at the end of the hall, a spacious flight of two or three marble steps leads to the great staircase, which is also of white marble. It consists of a centre, and two returning flights. The centre flight beyond the first landing is carried up to the entrance of the armoury, from which the effect is beautiful and theatrical. But the staircase, notwithstanding its beauty of outline and details, is perhaps liable to objection, as being too small for a palace. The impression, however, of the columns, the statues, and the reliefs, is undoubtedly elegant in the strictest meaning of the term.

" *Saloon and Throne Chamber*. On ascending the great stairs, leaving the flight which leads to the armoury on the right or on the left, the landing place opens into a vestibule. The saloon is beyond the vestibule, and the throne-chamber beyond the saloon. These apartments, are of noble dimensions ; the saloon is fifty, and the throne-chamber sixty feet in length, and forty in elevation. They will, when furnished, be the most gorgeous in the palace.

It is, indeed, not easy to conceive anything more splendid than the designs for the ceilings, which are to be finished in a style new in this country, partaking very much of the boldest style, in the Italian taste, of the fifteenth century, and recall to recollection the splendid works of the great masters of that school.—They will present the effect of embossed gold ornaments, raised on a ground of colour suitable to the character and other decorations of the rooms. The walls are to be hung with silks. The cone ornaments of the throne-chamber will exhibit the arms of the kings of England, and those of distinguished warriors, and other individuals connected with the royal family : four bas-reliefs will occupy as many compartments of the walls, each representing some celebrated circumstance in the history of the Garter, the Thistle, the Bath, and St. Patrick. The walls of the saloon are also to be decorated with bas-reliefs ; and it will be particularly agreeable on crowded court days, as it opens into the portico, which affords to the visitors in the state apartments the enjoyment of a splendid pavilion for promenading (*sic*) in the open air, and will be one of the most attractive parts of the palace.

“ *Picture Gallery.* It is one hundred and seventy-five feet in length, lighted by two rows of circular windows of ground glass in the ceiling, representing the stars of all the orders of knighthood in Europe. It would seem that a star-chamber is a necessary appendage to the English monarchy ; but from the gaiety of this room, we have some assurance that it will be applied to far different uses than those of the ancient star-chamber in the palace of Westminster. The ceiling of the gallery is not only picturesque and splendid, but really curious ; possessing all the richness and play of outline of Gothic architecture, produced of a most skilful combination of classic forms ; and certainly overthrows a position frequently advanced, that classic architecture could not in this effect vie with the Gothic.

“ *State Bed-Chamber.* Passing across the gallery, a

door leads into the state bed-chamber, behind which is the King's closet. This chamber is fifty feet in length, and, like those of all the other state rooms, the ceiling is of that richly ornamented character already described.

“ *Drawing-Rooms.* The next apartment is the bow drawing-room. It is nearly finished, with the exception of the gilding. The cornice is supported by eighteen Corinthian columns of lapis lazuli in scagliola. The stucco work of the dome exhibits the national emblems, and is in effect exceedingly rich, but at the same time light.

“ From this room the great drawing-room opens, which, from its dimensions and the style of the ornaments, will be extremely superb and striking, even in this suite of splendid apartments. It is seventy feet in length. The cornice is supported by coupled columns of a rose-coloured scagliola, formed in imitation of a very rare Bohemian mineral granulated with gold like lapis lazuli.

“ *Music Room.* This apartment is sixty feet in length. It opens from the great drawing-room and into the picture gallery. It likewise communicates with the armoury, from which the egress is by the flight of steps that form the great staircase, as already described.

“ Before concluding our remarks on the general style of the state rooms, we should notice some of the details. The floors, for it is not intended that any carpet shall be used, are of inlaid woods of different colours, repeating the designs of the ceilings. The door-cases surpass in elegance everything of the kind which we have seen in this country, and are even superior to the finest we have met with abroad. They are formed of statuary marble richly sculptured, and with different figures on several of them as large as life—some as caryatides. The cornices of these door-cases are ornamented with infant genii, cornucopias, and baskets of flowers.

“ Buckingham Palace, besides being a residence for the King, contains several private houses of an elegant

description, viz. a residence for an heir-apparent, homes for the lord chamberlain and the lord steward, and two other houses which have not yet been appropriated."

This, then, was the New Palace as planned by Nash and George IV, and before it was finished, first the royal rake died, and then his favoured architect, but, as already remarked, William IV had the work finished, and in 1835 the palace stood completed, but unoccupied by its royal master.

For the next two years it remained bare and stark, an unpretentious building in a comparatively squalid neighbourhood; inviting and receiving more hostile criticisms than has been levelled at any other similar building. At home and abroad it was the subject of cheap wit, and sardonic humour, and as such it has remained, from then until now.

Von Raumer was one of the most unkind of critics. On the 20th of June, 1835, he wrote to a friend:

"LONDON, *June 20th*, 1835.

"Yesterday, in company with Mr. D——, and several other persons I visited Buckingham House, the king's new palace in St. James's Park. Many objections might be made to the arrangement and proportions of the exterior, though its extent, and the colonnade, give it a certain air of grandeur.

"But what shall I say of the interior? I never saw anything that might be pronounced a more total failure in every respect. It is said, indeed, that, spite of the immense sums which have been expended, the king is so ill-satisfied with the result, that he has no mind to take up his residence in it when the unhappy edifice shall be finished. This reluctance appears to me very natural. For my own part, I would not live in it rent free; I should vex myself all the day long with the fantastic mixture of every style of architecture and decoration—the absence of all pure taste—the total want of feeling of measure and proportion. Even the great entrance-hall does not answer its object, because the principal staircase

is on one side, and an immense space, scarcely lighted, seems to extend before you as you enter, to no purpose whatever. The grand apartments of the principal story are adorned with pillars ; but what kind of pillars ? Partly red, like raw sausages ; partly blue, like starch—bad imitations of marbles which nobody ever saw, standing upon blocks which art rejects, to support nobody knows what. Then, in the next apartment (in defiance of keeping), no pillars, but pilasters ; then pilasters without base or capital ; and then with a capital, and with the base posterously cut away.

“ In the same apartment, fragments of Egypt, Greece, Etruria, Rome, and the middle ages, all confusedly mingled together ; the doors, windows, and chimney-pieces, in such incorrect proportions, that even the most unpractised eye must be offended. The spaces unskilfully divided, cut up, insulated ; the doors sometimes in the centre, sometimes in the corner—nay, in one room there are three doors of different height and breadth ; over the doors, in some apartments, bas-reliefs and sculptures, in which pygmies and Brobdignagians are huddled together—people from two to six feet high living in admirable harmony. The smaller figures have such miserable spider legs and arms, that one would fancy they had been starved in a time of scarcity and were come to the king’s palace to fatten.

“ The picture gallery is highly spoken of. I allow it is large, and the Gothic branches, depending from the half-vaulted ceilings, produce a certain effect. On the other hand, this imitation of Henry the Seventh’s chapel is out of its place here, where the doors and windows belong to other times and other nations. These doors and windows, again, are in no proportion to the whole ; the immensely high wall cannot be hung with paintings, and the light, coming from above on two sides, is false, insufficient, and, moreover, broken by the architectural decorations.

"This palace, therefore, stands as a very dear proof that wealth, without knowledge of art and taste, cannot effect so much as moderate means aided by knowledge and sound judgment. Of what use, then, is it? The best thing that could happen would be, if Alladin, with his magic lamp, would come and transport it into an African desert. Then might travellers go in pilgrimage to it, and learned men at home might puzzle their brains over their descriptions and drawings; wondering in what a curious state of civilisation and taste the unknown people, who built in such a style, must have lived! and how such deviations from all rule were to be explained! In the disputations that would arise, the people would be, if not justified, at least excused, and their liberal grants of money would be urged as extremely meritorious; but the king, and, above all the architect, would be found guilty of a violation of all rules of art and of sense."

Waagen was not less derisive, and said it was as if "some wicked magician had suddenly transformed some capricious stage scenery into solid reality," while a writer in the *Athenæum* described it as a "Penelope's web of a building—not so much trumpery decoration, bad contrivance, and gratuitous waste of money were ever packed together on so limited a space." Another critic wrote: "Look at that bald-looking Doric of the basement, so carefully stripped of its characteristic frieze, and then look at the elegant Corinthian of the upper order, a contrast without harmony in itself, and therefore, if for that reason alone, most un-Grecian."

Leeds, despite his general distaste of the building is, at any rate, more kind than some of the other critics:

" . . . The park itself has been greatly improved, its interior having been metamorphosed from a meadow with a formal, dingy canal intersecting it, into a cheerful, and tolerably picturesque pleasure-ground. The gardens at the back of the Palace have been improved quite in

equal degree, so that either way the view from the windows must be sufficiently agreeable—, nay, in this respect, perhaps the Palace has no cause to envy any other building of the kind in any European capital.

“ . . . Uglier structures of the kind there may be many ; yet scarcely any one that is more deficient in grandeur and nobleness of aspect. Particular faults on the part of the original architect might have been corrected, not so the one pervading fault here observable, namely, the utter absence of dignity, occasioned by the puniness of the original idea, and the pettiness that stamps every individual feature, both the ensemble and every part. Again, there is nothing at all approaching to originality of conception to indemnify us for errors of taste as to matters of design ; both the arrangement and the composition being of the most commonplace and hackneyed kind.”

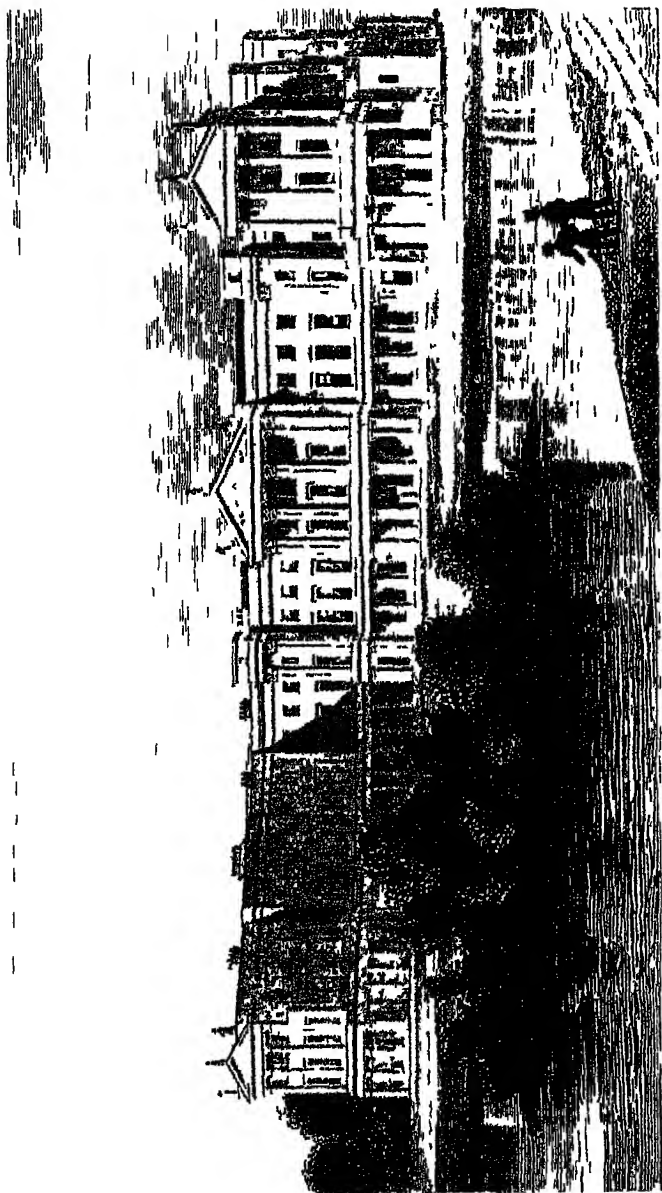
In lighter vein is a letter which Huish quotes—it is supposed to be an epistle addressed by a French architect in London to his friend in Paris, but Huish takes it so seriously that one is reluctantly forced to believe that the eminent historian must have been the subject of some mild “ leg-pulling.”

“ My dear Sair—I shall now give you some account of de royal Palace here, called de Buck-and-Ham palace, which is building for de English King in de spirit of John Bull, plum-pudding and roast beef taste, for which de English are so famous. It is great curiosity. In de first place, de pillars of de palace are made to represent English vegetable, as de sparrowgrass, de leek, and onion ; then de entablatures or friezes are vary mouch enriched with leg of mutton, and de pork, with vat dey call de garnish, all vary beautiful carved : then, on de impediment of the front, stand colossal figure of de man-cook with de large English toasting-fork in his hand, ready to put into de pot a vary large plum pudding behind him, which is vary

fine pudding, not de colour of black Christmas pudding, because de architect say it would not look vell in summair time ; it is vary plain pudding. Then de small windows of de kitchen, on each side de impediment at top story of de palace, have before dem trophy of de kitchen, such as pot and de pan, and othare thing, which look well at de distance, except that de poker and de tong are too big. On de wing of de palace, called de gizzard wing (de othare wing was cut off), stand de domestique servant, in neat dress, holding in de trays biscuit and tart, and othare ding. The name of de architect is Mistaire Hash, de King's architect, who, I was informed, was roasted vary much. (the term I did not comprehend). De English people seem vary much to like dis palace for de King, and do laugh vary much. There is to be in de front of de palace vary large kitchen range, made of white marble, vich I was told would contain von hundred of goose at von time. De palace, ven complete, will be called after von famous English dish, de Toad-in-de-Hole ! ”

Before passing on to the next phase of the history of the palace, there is one item which is not uninteresting, and, in a sense, has a more direct contact with William than Victoria, although the facts enumerated below were actually elicited during the reign of the latter. When the question of Queen Victoria's Civil List was brought up before the House necessary measures were immediately taken to decide upon the amount of the future income to be allotted to the reigning Sovereign. The first step taken by the Government was to require the Lord Chamberlain, the Lord Steward, and the Master of the Horse, to furnish full particulars of the expenditure of their respective departments from the 1st of January to the 31st of December, 1836, the last complete year of William IV's reign.

The accounts are well worth studying ; not only do they reveal the expenses of running the royal palaces at that time, but also each individual item : wax candles, for instance,



ST. GEORGE'S PALACE
From a contemporary print

BUCKINGHAM PALACE: WILLIAM IV 217

cost £1977, and tallow candles, £679. In the Lord Chamberlain's Department it is disclosed that Japanners cost the Civil List £654, and the China-men £201.

LORD CHAMBERLAIN'S DEPT., 1836

	£
Upholsterers and Cabinet-makers	11,381
Joiners and Blind-makers	1,038
Carpet manufacturers	225
Turners, Mat-layers, etc.	690
Locksmiths, etc.	4,119
Clock-makers, etc.	895
Pianoforte-makers, etc.	356
Or-mulu restorers, etc.	391
Japanners	654
Lamp and Lustre manufacturers	268
Plate-glass men	26
China-men	201
Paper-hangers	898
Silk-mercers	16
Linen-drapers	1,962
Woollen-drapers	348
Furniture-printers	12
Sempstress	284
Tailors	25
Hatters	14
Hosiers and glovers	97
Stationers, etc.	1,080
Card-makers	118
Modellers and Floor-chalkers	137
Washing	3,014
Dyers	74
Soap	479
Chimney-sweepers	150
Surgeons, etc.	1,957
Artists, etc.	400
Masons, etc.	18
Allowances	4,631
"	1,578
Sundry payments	1,365
Messengers' bills	2,997
TOTAL	<u>£41,898</u>

218 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

LORD STEWARD'S DEPT., 1836

	£
Bread	2,050
Butter, etc.	4,976
Milk, etc.	1,478
Meat	9,472
Poultry	3,633
Fish	1,979
Grocery	4,644
Oilery	1,793
Fruit	1,741
Vegetables	487
Wine	4,850
Liqueurs	1,843
Alc	2,811
Candles (wax)	1,977
„ (tallow)	679
Lamps	4,660
Fuel	6,846
Stationery	824
Turnery	376
Brazier	890
China, glass	1,328
Linen	1,085
Washing table-linen	3,130
Plate	355
Royal gardens	10,569
Maunday expenses	276
Royal yachts	45
Board wages	3,615
Travelling expenses	1,050
Allowances	764
Hired persons	3,646
Yeomen	2,230
Compensation	1,244
Sundries	4,719
TOTAL	£92,065

MASTER OF THE HORSE DEPT., 1836

	£
Liveries	6,208
Forage	5,308
Farriery	102
Horses	3,345
Carriages	4,825
Harness	567
Saddlery	577
Bits and spurs	30
Whips	46
Lamps	642
Coal	954
Stationery	48
Candles	214
Turnery	176
Washing	84
Ironmongery	182
Allowance	590
Sundries	2,822
Travelling	1,846
Post horses	1,402
King's plates	2,310
Stud bills	546
Hunt bills	5,000
	<hr/>
	£38,734
Deduct proceeds of useless horses sold	529
	<hr/>
	£38,205

MASTER OF THE ROBES DEPT., 1836, £1,880

TOTAL EXPENSES :—

Lord Chamberlain's Dept.	41,898
Lord Steward's Dept.	92,065
Master of the Horse Dept.	38,205
Master of the Robes Dept.	1,880
	<hr/>
	£174,048

220 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

These figures were examined thoroughly, and Her Majesty's estimated expenses were based upon them, and the figure of £385,000, made up as follows, was fixed as the nation's contribution to the upkeep of the royal household :

H. M. Privy Purse	£ 60,000
Household salaries	131,260
Tradesmen's bills	172,500
Royal bounty, alms and charity	13,200
Unappropriated money	8,040
TOTAL	<hr/> £385,000

CHAPTER XX

BUCKINGHAM PALACE : VICTORIA

IT is curious to reflect that, in a sense, the death of Princess Charlotte was responsible for the birth of Victoria. Mention has already been made that, through a curious twist of circumstances, Charlotte was the only living legitimate grandchild of George III from his nine sons, though of illegitimate issue there were no such unfortunate limitations.

The nine sons of George III were as follows : George, Prince of Wales, who became George IV, and had only one child, Charlotte : Frederick, Duke of York, who died three years before George IV ; William, Duke of Clarence, afterwards William IV, who had six daughters by Mrs. Jordan the actress ; Edward, Duke of Kent ; Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, ultimately King of Hanover ; Augustus, Duke of Sussex, who also had children by an illegal marriage ; Adolphus, Duke of Cambridge ; Octavius, who died at the age of four, and Alfred, who lived only two years.

At the time Charlotte died, Heir-Presumptive to the throne of England, Clarence, Kent, and Cambridge were all bachelors, George IV had no other issue, the children of Clarence and Sussex had no claim to the Crown ; York was legally married to the Princess Royal of Prussia, the union being childless.

The situation was desperate ; an alarmed people viewed with dismay the probability of the Crown passing from brother to brother until it reached Cumberland, the most unscrupulous, and the most hated, of the royal family. Panic-stricken, there was a public demand for the bachelor Princes to wed, and as a bribe to them, it was agreed to pay their debts.

The three bachelors went to Germany for their brides, Kent marrying the widowed Princess of Leiningen, sister of Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, widower of Princess Charlotte, in 1818, and residing in the small principality of which the Princess had been made Regent upon the death of her first husband.

As soon as it became evident that the Duchess of Kent would, in due course, fulfil her duty to her husband, the Duke made arrangements to return to England. They eventually reached London, and the Duke took his wife to Kensington Palace, where he secured rooms—this all unbeknown to his brother, the Prince Regent, who heartily hated him. When, at last, George did hear of the Duke's return to England he would have turned them out of Kensington Palace, bag and baggage, had not wiser counsels than his own prevailed.

On the 24th of May, 1819, the Duchess of Kent gave birth to a girl, who, though a grandchild of George III's fourth son, was, while that king was still alive, in the line of direct succession to the throne, and though four lives, including his own, stood between her and that unenviable position, her father was intuitively convinced that his daughter was intended to reign.

Victoria's advent into the world was received by the family with anything but enthusiasm, particularly by the Duke of Cumberland, who was thus—barring her death—separated for all time from the throne. His attitude is comprehensible, but why the remainder of the family should have conceived such feelings is answerable, while not being understandable. In the first case not one of them liked Kent—probably because he had the finest character of them all—and, secondly, because the Salic law was enforceable in Hanover, which thus effectively separated the Kingdom of Hanover from the remainder of the British Empire—which, in these days, might well be considered a matter for congratulation!

After the christening of the babe—a most lamentable affair altogether—what might be termed internal guerilla

warfare broke out, and after a certain amount of sparring the Duke was curtly asked to leave the country. Kent would willingly have returned to Leiningen, where he would have found more peace than in England, but this was impossible, for the simple but incredible reason that he could not find the necessary money.

The culminating point was reached when the Regent, for all the graces which sent Sir Walter Scott into ecstasies, and caused him to be known as the First Gentleman of Europe, despicably affronted the Duchess in public with all the spitefulness of which his petty soul was capable.

The Duchess fell ill and was ordered to recuperate by the sea ; so borrowing the money the best they could, the small family fled from their creditors and their relatives—the first being no more unpleasant than the second—and hid away in a cottage at Sidmouth called by the pretentious but misleading name of Woolbrook Glen.

Here the Duchess recovered, and the baby Princess grew fat, while her grandfather died, and her uncle, George, sat on the throne, and, in turn, also grew fat. Victoria was another step nearer the throne. In that same year her father also died—actually six days before George III—leaving behind a will appointing his widow the sole guardian to his daughter. That responsibility was all he did leave ; his creditors had the rest !

By now the situation of the Princess Victoria was intensely curious : to all intents and purposes the infant Princess would one day occupy the throne, and yet her mother was penniless, and so far as her husband's family was concerned, so she was likely to remain. What eventually might have happened it is impossible to conjecture—one has visions of the Duchess returning to the Principality of which she was Regent—but at this stage her brother, Leopold, came to her rescue, granting her the financial and moral assistance which his niece, Victoria, never forgot, though the Duchess need have had no scruples about accepting money from her brother, who was drawing a tremendous income from England as widower of the Princess Charlotte.

Probably it was also due to Leopold's influence that the Duchess of Kent reached the decision to remain in England—a sacrifice on her part not sufficiently recognized ; for the sake of her daughter she yielded her birthright, in order to live in a foreign land, a member of a hostile family.

England has reason to feel grateful to the memory of the Duchess of Kent. With a single-mindedness of purpose—an attribute which her daughter inherited from her—she determined to devote the remainder of her life to the education of her daughter, to make of her a Queen fit to rule the British people, and above all, an Englishwoman—an English monarch for the English throne.

For this purpose she returned to Kensington Palace, and brought up her daughter in the closest seclusion, much as the Princess Augusta educated her son, George (afterward the third), but whereas the Duchess of York had shielded her son from the demoralizing influence of femininity, the Duchess of Kent had a more subtle and dangerous antagonism from which to protect her child, that of the evil Duke of Cumberland, who never forgave either the Duchess or her child for negating his succession to the throne.

Degenerate as was George IV, his brother Cumberland was worse ; moreover it is not unlikely that he was a murderer, for his valet, Sallis, died a violent death, and the evidence at the inquest was entirely unsatisfactory. Although the verdict was to the effect that the valet had attempted to murder the Duke, and failing, had committed suicide, the public did not hesitate to deduce, from the evidence, that the valet had wounded Cumberland in a desperate but unsuccessful attempt to save his own throat being cut.

The enmity of such a man was not to be lightly feared, and whether or no he would have gone to the length of harming the child, at any rate the Duchess took every necessary precaution against such an eventuality—from the day she was born until the day she ascended the throne, Victoria never slept a night away from her mother's side. Nor was she less carefully guarded during the daytime : she was—



QUEEN VICTORIA
From a painting by E. J. Parris.

unhappily—permitted no companions of her own age, except her half-sister, Princess Féodore of Leiningen, who was some years older than Victoria ; her recreations were thus restricted to whatever games by which the two children, under strict supervision, could amuse themselves. What this meant to the child can be judged by the answer she gave when asked what she would choose to do as a special treat—she pleaded to be allowed to clean the windows of her aunt's palace !

Victoria's childhood was scarcely a happy one : whatever love the Duchess of Kent bore toward her child was almost offset by the stern disciplinary régime which she instituted, and the strict surveillance which she constantly maintained. Always, at the back of the mind of the Duchess of Kent, was the predominating thought that one day her daughter was likely to be Queen of England. Consequently, for the child, the earlier years of her life were a long period of constant study, relieved only by ceremonial and State recreations which must have irked rather than have amused her.

The story of her childhood has been told many times : it makes an interesting study, for there is an inexhaustible fund of anecdotes from which to draw more material than can possibly be needed. Nevertheless, it is scarcely picturesque or romantic : born in the palace in which she was compelled to spend the first eighteen years of her life, yet she could not have been more simply educated in the home of the meanest of her subjects. Intrigue swirled round her head, but not even the faintest whisper of it reached her ears. Her youth was as uneventful as that of George III and George IV.

In 1827 the Duke of York died : three years later, George IV breathed his last, so that, if the Duke of Kent had lived, he would have known that his intuition had not been incorrect : Victoria was, at the age of eleven, Heir-Presumptive to the Throne.

The occupancy of the throne by William did little to ease the situation as far as the Duchess was concerned : the " Sailor King " was fond of Victoria in his bluff manner, but he was intensely jealous of her mother's influence. Time

226 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

after time he endeavoured to override the Duchess in matters concerning Princess Victoria, but in her he met a will stronger than his own, the consequence being eternal family bickering.

When the Princess became eighteen years of age, William, to win her allegiance to himself, made a diplomatic move, following an example set by George II: he offered Victoria an allowance of £10,000 a year from his private purse, "to be at her disposal independently of her mother." Strangely enough he achieved the same result as did his ancestor—Victoria accepted the money, but refused to allow the gift to influence her relations with her mother.

Nevertheless, soon after, there were indications that the Princess was beginning to realize her independence, which, subsequently, she expressed very strongly. There was an incident at Southampton when the Duchess—actuated by a sense of jealousy which, unfortunately, most mothers experience toward daughters—refused to allow Victoria, instead of herself, to open the new pier, much to her daughter's annoyance and disappointment, and thereafter Victoria began to express a streak of obstinacy, and a belief in the royal prerogative, which she had inherited from both sides of the family, particularly from her grandfather.

It is not unlikely that sooner or later, had circumstances been different, Victoria, of her own accord, would have broken away from her mother's authority, but this was to happen automatically, for, on the 20th of June, 1837, William IV died, and Victoria ascended the throne.

Once again credit must be paid to the Duchess of Kent. Whatever faults she may have committed in the upbringing of her daughter, at least she did her work capably, as proved by the ability Victoria immediately displayed in taking upon her youthful shoulders the onerous task of ruling a country.

On the same day as the King's death, the Privy Council was hastily summoned to Kensington Palace, in order formally to meet the new Queen. This was an awe-inspiring experience which would reduce most people to a stage of nervous helplessness, still more a girl not yet out of her "teens," but

Victoria acquitted herself with the utmost credit, which even the cynical Greville acknowledges.

“ Never was there anything like the first impression she produced, or the chorus of praise and admiration which is raised about her manner and behaviour, and certainly not without justice. It was very extraordinary, and certainly something far beyond what was looked for. Her youth and inexperience, and the ignorance of the world concerning her, naturally excited intense curiosity to see how she would act on this trying occasion, and there was a considerable assemblage at the Palace, notwithstanding the short notice that was given. The first thing to be done was to teach her her lesson, which for this purpose, Melbourne had himself to learn. I gave him the Council papers, and explained all that was to be done, and he went and explained all this to her. He asked, too, if she would enter the room accompanied by the great officers of State, but she said she would come in alone. When the Lords were assembled, the Lord President informed them of the King’s death, and suggested, as they were so numerous, that a few of them should repair to the presence of the Queen and inform her of the events, and that their lordships were assembled in consequence ; and, accordingly, the two royal dukes, the two archbishops, the Chancellor, and Melbourne went with him. The Queen received them in the adjoining room alone. As soon as they had returned the proclamation was read and the usual order passed, when the doors were thrown open, and the Queen entered, accompanied by her two uncles, who advanced to meet her. She bowed to the Lords, took her seat, and then read her Speech in a clear, distinct, and audible voice, and without any appearance of fear or embarrassment. She was quite plainly dressed, and in mourning.

“ After she had read her Speech, and taken and signed the Oath for the security of the Church of Scotland, the

Privy Councillors were sworn,—the two royal dukes first, by themselves ; and as these two old men, her uncles, knelt before her, swearing allegiance and kissing her hand, I saw her blush up to her eyes, as if she felt the contrast between their civil and their natural relations, and this was the only sign of emotion which she evinced. Her manner to them was very graceful and engaging. She kissed them both, rose from her chair, and moved toward the Duke of Sussex, who was farthest from her, and too infirm to reach her. She seemed rather bewildered at the multitude of men who were sworn, and who came one after another to kiss her hand, but she did not speak to anybody, nor did she make the slightest difference in her manner, or show any in her countenance to any individual of any rank, station, or party. She went through the whole ceremony, occasionally looking at Melbourne for instruction when she had any doubt what to do, which hardly ever occurred, and with perfect calmness and self-possession, but at the same time with a graceful modesty and propriety particularly interesting and ingratiating."

Croker is as enthusiastic : " I cannot describe to you with what a mixture of self-possession and feminine delicacy she read the paper. Her voice, which is naturally beautiful, was clear and unhurried, and her eye was bright and calm, neither bold nor downcast, but firm and soft. There was a blush on her cheek which made her look both handsomer and more interesting. . . ."

The accession of Victoria was received by the people with acclamations and expressions of joy, much as though some vague instinct was assuring the nation that the long-needed change of monarchs had arrived at last. Moreover, they were enchanted by the sight of her sweet youth, her charming personality—a decided contrast to the rulers who had governed them for the past fifty years.

It now became necessary for the Queen to make her choice of a palace for her official residence, and for this purpose the

various London palaces came under discussion. Neither Kensington Palace nor St. James's appealed to her : the first possessed too many unhappy memories of childhood, the second had never proved agreeable to her. At this stage the new palace, which had been completed two years previously, came under mention, and with a happy decision the Queen picked upon this building.

Despite the many adverse opinions already quoted, Victoria determined to establish herself within its "un-Grecian" walls, and orders were given for its immediate refurnishing, and thus was established the now classical joke which no writer on the palace has omitted to quote—that the building was the cheapest palace in the world, having been started for one sovereign, finished for another, and furnished for a third ! Curiously enough, the writer of a modern work mentioning the palace at length—in quoting this joke—has substituted the word *monarch* for the word *sovereign* ! a mutilation which would seem to establish that writer's lack of humorous appreciation.

It was soon discovered that, although the palace had not been occupied since its completion, further alterations were necessary before it could be called habitable for the Queen. To rectify this Victoria called in Edward Blore, who had been appointed special architect to her uncle, William.

At that time Blore was an eminently suitable man for the task ; he had already proved himself worthy of the honour granted to him. Even so, to improve the hotch-potch of a building which Nash had left behind him, forever to commemorate his memory, was an impossible task : Blore did what he could, but it was little. Chiefly he removed the centre dome, which had proved such a bone of contention, added new buildings to the south side, and improved the gardens, which were completely altered, so as to conceal from the windows of the palace the great pile of stabling recently erected in Pimlico. This was done by raising a large artificial mound which was planted by curious shrubs and trees. Behind this was made a fish pond, while the

230 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

remainder of the garden was laid out in parterres and shrubberies.

At last, on the 13th July, 1837, Queen Victoria drove in state, through wildly enthusiastic crowds, to the new palace, which many would have had her call "Queen's Palace," but whether the old name appealed to a romantic streak in her nature, or else she felt disinclined to associate her palace with that of Queen Charlotte's, she decided that her home was to be known as Buckingham Palace, and thus, for the first time, the palace as it is known to-day came into its own.

CHAPTER XXI

BUCKINGHAM PALACE : VICTORIA (CONTINUED)

AS soon as Victoria was established in her new palace, she began to display a rigid determination to conduct the affairs of the palace and personally to superintend every department. It must be admitted, however, that she did this as much from a girlish delight and sense of proprietorship as for any other reason. Despite her young years, she began to institute many innovations hitherto unknown in the royal circle, one of which was to establish a Court orchestra, which played music during and after dinner. Another was to institute a small weekly dance, that took place every Monday night, while personally she began to devote more time to reading for pleasure than she had hitherto allowed herself.

For the first time for many decades the royal palace became the centre of hospitality, the equal of which it had not had since the days when Arlington held his extravagant banquets in the building which was then known as Arlington House. Victoria did not confine her hospitality to large gatherings, she was just as interested in having her personal friends visit her, so that she could have the pleasure of personally conducting them over all parts of her new home, even into the kitchen, as she was of inviting parties of children with whom she delighted to scamper.

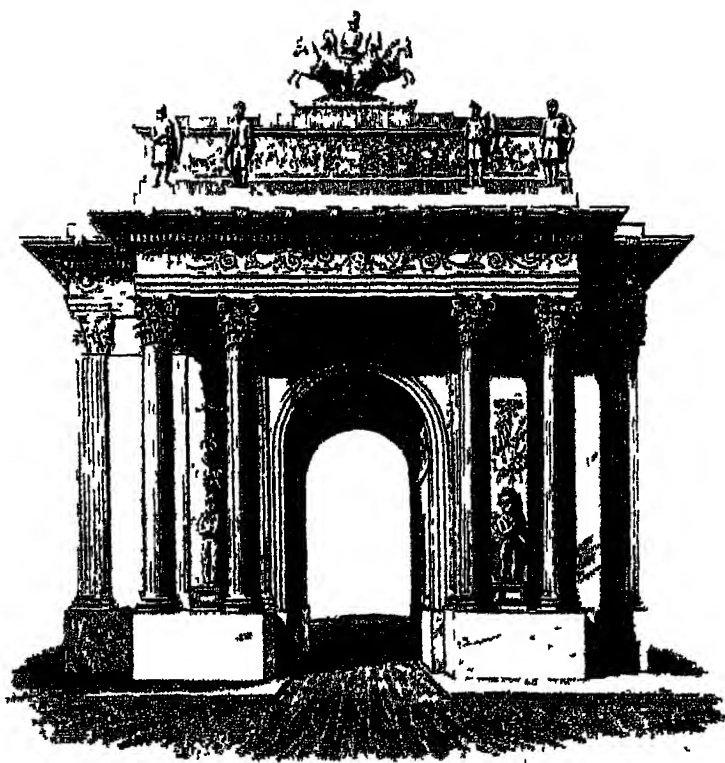
Another of her recreations was to invite ladies, with whom she played at ball, or battledore and shuttlecock, or else practised singing and pianoforte playing. In the evenings she was fond of playing games such as chess, or draughts, or whist. She also played vingt-et-un, Pope Joan, and Main-

jaune, playing all these games for small stakes, in connection with which it is interesting to note that, Court etiquette demanding all coin of the realm passed to the Sovereign should be new and unused, it was necessary for ladies-in-waiting, maids-of-honour, and other visitors who played card games with her, to keep a ready supply of new money to pass to her whenever she won. She was also fond of playing many different kinds of card patience.

Less than five weeks after she had moved into the palace, she held the first entertainment for the like of which the earlier parts of her reign were noted, for on the 17th August, 1837, she commanded a grand concert there, which was held under the direction of Signor Costa, in honour of which the Court were ordered to go out of mourning for her uncle, for the day. Many famous singers of that period rendered their services that night, among them being Madame Grisi, Madame Albertazzi, the famous Signor Lablache, and Signor Tamburini.

During the first few months of her reign she was also kept very busily occupied in entertaining her many relatives from the different countries in Europe, the first of whom was her half-brother, the Prince of Leiningen, and later, the King of the Belgians and Queen Louise. She frequently had to stay with her, her cousin, Victoria, daughter of the Duke Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, who always took part in her outdoor recreations.

The public, which had so long bemoaned the fact that royalty had ceased to interest themselves in their people by hiding themselves within their palace walls, had no longer any reason to continue their plaint. Victoria began to devote herself to ceremonies and public affairs, opening gates, roads, buildings, etc., driving through the parks, or riding at the head of cavalcades. Nevertheless, discontent began to grow rife among a certain section of her people, mainly, be it mentioned, the Tory party. Jealous of the favour which Queen Victoria bestowed upon the Whigs, they sought an occasion to express their displeasure, and in the spring of



ENTRANCE TO THE PALACE
From a drawing by Thos. H. Shepherd.

1839 a crisis was created of which they took every opportunity.

The innocent cause of this internal strife was Lady Flora Hastings, daughter of the Marquis of Hastings, and Lady of the Bedchamber to Victoria's mother, the Duchess of Kent.

On the 10th of January, Lady Flora found it necessary to consult her physician, Sir James Clark, on account of an elementary ailment. Innocent as was her visit, for some unexplained reason, coupled with her appearance, it caused grave suspicion to arise in the minds of two other Ladies of the Bedchamber, who did not hesitate to communicate their feelings to the Queen.

Shocked beyond measure, the young Queen passed on the information to Lord Melbourne, then Premier, who, however, did not credit the rumour. Unfortunately, the implication continued to be spread, until at last, fearing that Lady Flora should besmirch the reputation of the Queen and her Court, the Premier consulted Sir James Clark on the matter, who naturally declared there was no foundation whatsoever for the ever-spreading tale.

This unhappy move on the part of the Premier brought the affair to a head. Lady Flora, hearing of the suspicions of the Court, indignantly denied the charge, much to the satisfaction of the Duchess of Kent, while her mother wrote to the Queen imploring her to make some public statement, and dismiss the doctor.

Lord Melbourne refused to allow the Queen to take any further steps in the matter, and, although the Hastings family, by means of interviews and correspondence, endeavoured to persuade the young Queen to alter her mind, she maintained a rigid silence, until at last the Marchioness of Hastings, furious at the insult to the family, published the whole of the correspondence between herself, Her Majesty, and Lord Melbourne . . . a situation which, more than anything else, draws a comparison between the critical light with which the British people regarded their monarch one

hundred years ago, and, to-day, when no publisher would demean himself by printing such intimate correspondence.

The publication of these letters, although reflecting upon the Queen and her Court, for some obscure reason reacted mostly upon Sir James Clark, the doctor, who became the principal object of Lady Hastings' attack. He endeavoured to defend himself by sending explanations to the newspapers, but this merely added fuel to the flame of scandal, and as the Hastings were Tories, the issue at once became political.

Finally, when application was again made to Lord Melbourne to stifle the cruel suspicion, he reluctantly consented to a medical examination of Lady Flora by Sir James Clark and Sir Charles Clarke, who had been the family physicians since Lady Flora's birth. This second examination once again disclosed the falsity of the scandal.

Meanwhile, the cause of this political strife suffered terribly, so much so that her mental worry so aggravated the disease from which she was suffering that, on the 5th of July, she died of enlargement of the liver.

This, of course, was the finale. Public opinion was wholly against the Queen, and the newspapers did not hesitate to accuse her of hastening the girl's death by her attitude in the matter, which could not have been more discreet or more impartial. On the other hand, the very fact of Lady Flora's continuing to remain Lady of the Bedchamber to the Duchess of Kent should have been sufficient acknowledgment on the part of the Queen that she had no belief in the story.

Following this episode, the Queen found herself faced by her first Cabinet crisis, which resulted in Melbourne resigning the Premiership. The Queen offered it to Sir Robert Peel, who accepted. The Tories were triumphant, and yet, within a few days the Queen was involved in yet another Bedchamber crisis.

The story is well known; it is not proposed to touch at much length upon it here, except to compare Victoria with her grandfather, George III, for, just as King George had endeavoured, unconstitutionally, to defy the politicians, so

now Victoria refused to acknowledge the long-established custom in England of the political party in power appointing the high officials of the Court.

Despite her youth, she refused to give way beneath the threats of Sir Robert Peel and the blandishments of the Duke of Wellington. Some idea of her attitude can be gathered from an extract of a letter she wrote to Lord Melbourne, in which she said : " Do not fear I was not calm and composed. They wanted to deprive me of my ladies, and I suppose they would deprive me next of my dressers and my housemaids. They wished to treat me like a girl, but I will show them that I am Queen of England."

This attitude on the part of the Queen resulted in Peel's refusing to form a Government, and in Melbourne's resuming office, which Victoria dangerously accepted as a victory for herself, but in reality it merely had an unfortunate effect upon the Queen's prestige, which she herself learned in a most amazing, but above all, mortifying, manner, when, at the Ascot races that year, instead of the hurricane of cheering and shouting and waving of handkerchiefs which usually greeted her appearance, she was actually hooted as her carriage stopped at the entrance of the box. Nor did this cease : when she appeared on the balcony of the box, she was greeted by insulting cries from those in the enclosure below . . . the enclosure which was reserved exclusively for the aristocracy !

It was a severe but successful lesson to the Queen ; she never took sides in political affairs again.

Meanwhile, whatever fault the Queen may have revealed in political affairs, in other ways she was performing an incredible miracle which might well have been thought impossible. There is little need to reiterate once again the dissolute and degenerate habits into which the Court, and, following their example, the aristocracy, and after them the upper middle-classes of England, had sunk during the reigns of George IV and his brother William IV. Since the Hanover line had first sat upon the throne of England, with the exception

236 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

of the third George, the Court had set the worst and most vicious example of any in Europe. There had never been heavier drinking, more widespread gambling, and above all, such open disregard for all notions of morality. The Court when the young Queen ascended the throne was nothing more nor less than a quagmire of vice, a cesspool of viciousness ; mistresses received as much courtesy as wives : the nobleman who could not drink his bottle of port after the ladies had left the table was considered a poor sort of a creature. Nightly intoxication was the rule rather than the exception.

How far the Queen could have been aware of the life led by the Court is obscure. Brought up in the strictest seclusion as she was by her mother, it is difficult to believe that she could have been conscious of the depths to which the habits of the aristocracy had fallen. Nevertheless, innocently or otherwise, it was not long before Victoria created a change in life which was nothing less than remarkable, and yet she did so in a simple way which made her immediate subjects accept the dictates of her will despite themselves, and their own inclinations.

On the 23rd November, 1839, the Queen summoned the Privy Council to Buckingham Palace, and to them read the following short but momentous announcement :—

“ It is my intention to ally myself in marriage with the Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. Deeply impressed with the solemnity of the engagement which I am about to contract I have not come to this decision without mature consideration, nor without feeling a strong assurance that, with the blessing of Almighty God, it will at once secure me domestic felicity and serve the interests of my country.”

With those few words the Queen regained all the popularity which she had temporarily lost through the Lady Hastings and Ladies of the Bedchamber scandals. By politician and public alike the news was received with unaffected enthusiasm.

Happy as were her people, their joy was overshadowed by that of the Queen herself : for once politics had had no hand in the arrangement of this match, which was one purely and simply of love—a rare occurrence in the annals of royal marriages.

Negotiations proceeded apace, and on the 8th February, 1840, Prince Albert arrived at Dover, where he received overwhelming acclamations. He proceeded by road to London, and throughout the journey was welcomed by vast crowds, all the more keen to show their appreciation of him when it was seen that the new Prince Consort was a tall, handsome man, who bore himself with grace and dignity.

As soon as Prince Albert arrived in London he proceeded to Buckingham Palace, where he took the oath that made him a British subject, and two days later his marriage to Queen Victoria took place in the Chapel Royal at St. James's Palace.

Following the marriage, which Lady Wilhelmina Stanhope, afterward the Duchess of Cambridge, described so picturesquely, the newly married couple drove from St. James's Palace to Buckingham Palace, where a brilliant wedding breakfast followed, after which the Queen and Prince Albert started off for Windsor, where they were to spend their honeymoon, passing first through St. James's, where a dense crowd, regardless of the cloud-burst, which damped their clothes if not their ardour, cheered the bride and groom so that the tumult was deafening, while from London to Windsor the roads were so crowded that very often it was only with difficulty that the escort was successful in maintaining an open way through which the royal carriage could pass.

1840 was an eventful year in the life of Queen Victoria ; among other incidents it may be noted that Mr. Blore completed the alterations which he had commenced upon her Accession.

More important, however, was the attempt of Oxford, a young lad of eighteen years of age, to assassinate his Sovereign, when, one afternoon in June, Victoria and Albert were driving up Constitution Hill. Suddenly the boy stepped out,

and fired two pistols at the Queen. So close was he to the carriage that it is scarcely believable that he could have missed his aim, but the same fate which had protected George III from all harm now protected Queen Victoria, for she remained unharmed. Oxford made no attempt to escape, and was instantly seized by excited bystanders, and hurried away. The Queen herself, however, throughout this incident, remained perfectly cool, and outwardly not in the least alarmed, so that her courage excited universal admiration.

Later in the day, when the news spread of the attempt on her life, together with the report of her courage in the face of danger, she was received with wild enthusiasm when she once more resumed her drive along Hyde Park.

The Queen's marriage was not allowed to interfere with the domestic arrangements which Victoria had instituted on becoming her own mistress. On the contrary, it might be said that the Queen devoted still more time to music and literature, for Prince Albert was an accomplished musician, composer of merit, and a studious reader. In addition to his musical gifts he had a rich voice which admirably offset the Queen's, consequently it was only natural that they should indulge in duets, so popular in those days. Shortly after their marriage, they held a grand concert at Buckingham Palace at which both the Queen and her husband sang, and there is extant a printed programme of the event from which the following items are extracted :—

- QUARTETTE . . . " *Nobile Signora* " (Comte Ory) . . . *Rossini.*
 Prince Albert, Signori Rubini, Signor B. Costa, and Signor
 Lablache.
- DUO . . . " *Non funestar crudele* " (Il Disertora) . . . *Ricci.*
 Her Majesty and Prince Albert.
- CORO PASTORALE . . . " *Felice Eta* " . . . *Costa.*
 Her Majesty, Lady Sandwich, Lady Williamson, Lady Nor-
 manby, Lady Norreys, Misses Liddell and Anson. Signor
 Rubini and Signor Costa. Prince Albert, Lord C. Paget, and
 Signor Lablache.
- TRIO . . . " *Dunque il mio bene* " (Flauto Magico) . . . *Mozart.*
 Her Majesty, Signori Rubini, and Lablache.

QUARTETTO CON CORO . " *Tu di grazia* " *Haydn.*

Her Majesty, Lady Williamson, Lady Sandwich, Lady Norreys,
Lady Normanby, Misses Liddell and Anson. Signor Rubini,
and Signor Costa. Prince Albert, Lord C. Paget, and Signor
Lablache.

CORO . . . " *Oh ! Come lieto giunge* " (St. Paul) *Felix Mendelssohn.*

Her Majesty, Lady Sandwich, Lady Williamson, Lady Nor-
manby, Lady Norreys, Misses Liddell and Anson. Signor
Rubini and Signor Costa. Prince Albert, Lord C. Paget, and
Signor Lablache.

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In the following November the first child was born to the Queen in Buckingham Palace. The nation received the news with unconcealed delight, for at last it seemed that the hated Duke of Cumberland and his progeny were for ever barred from succession to the throne.

On the following 10th February, the anniversary of the Queen's marriage, the child was baptized at Buckingham Palace, in the names of Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa, but whatever the pleasure expressed by the people in this birth, it was as nothing to the overwhelming joy which flooded the country from end to end, when, on the 9th November, 1841, the Queen's second child was born at Buckingham Palace, this time a male child, who thus became Heir-Apparent.

It was in this year, also, that a young lad, Jones, caused a certain amount of alarm by breaking into the private apartments of the Queen. "A little scamp of an apothecary's errand boy, named Jones," says Mr. Raikes, "has the unaccountable mania of sneaking privately into Buckingham Palace, where he is found secreted at night under a sofa, or some other hiding-place close to the Queen's bedchamber. No one can divine his object, but twice he has been detected and conveyed to the police office, and put into confinement for a time. The other day he was detected in a third attempt, with apparently as little object. Lady Sandwich wittily wrote that he must undoubtedly be a descendant of In-I-go Jones, the architect."

CHAPTER XXII

BUCKINGHAM PALACE: VICTORIA (CONTINUED)

THE winter of 1841 was a time of great rejoicing for the British nation, for, following the birth of an heir to the throne, the great event was generously celebrated, both in public and in private, and Christmas following so soon afterward, the Yuletide festivities were, if possible, more brilliant than ever, especially where the royal family was concerned.

1842 was a less happy year in many ways, and a number of unusual incidents occurred, most of which had direct bearing on this history.

On the 12th of May there took place at the Palace the first of a series of brilliant fancy-dress balls held there.

There can be nothing but praise for the organization of these colourful festivals. In the first case, this premier ball originated from the desire to give work to the Spitalfields weavers, who were again in distress, and secondly, in a more indirect way, it was an admirable piece of pageantry, calculated to please a country which expects its royal sovereign to live in an atmosphere of pomp and circumstance.

This particular ball has descended to posterity as the Plantagenet ball, due to the fact that the guests, dressed in the costumes of the Plantagenet period, made a spectacular and historical picture of the Court of England in the time of Edward III and Queen Phillippa, these two sovereigns being represented by Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort respectively. So magnificent was the Queen's robe for this occasion that it was put on view in the West End, and attracted crowds of people, who gazed enchanted at the stomacher,



QUEEN VICTORIA AND PRINCE ALBERT

From a drawing on stone by Lover

decorated with more than sixty thousand pounds' worth of jewels.

That night all the finest blood of the British Isles assembled within the walls of Buckingham Palace. Apart from the Queen herself, the Duchess of Cambridge made the next most splendid spectacle, representing Anne of Brittany, and having around her a separate court of her own of one hundred people. There were also there the Duke of Argyll, who was then a newly presented youth, Lady Peel with her great husband, Gladstone and his beautiful young wife who was dressed as La Reine Claude, wife of Francis the First, and others whose names have come down to posterity as famous men and women of that time.

One of the great features of the ball was a succession of quadrilles of all nations, which was danced before the Queen by groups attired to represent the various countries concerned, and it is said that the Czar Nicholas sent experts from his Court to instruct the Russian dancers.

As an eye-witness, writing in the "Court Journal," says :

"Her Majesty's masque was an incarnation of a dream."

This festivity, again, has all the more interest as being the first public ball given by one of the House of Hanover, and also for the fact that it was the first public ball given in Buckingham Palace.

Nevertheless, it is a revelation of human ingratitude, and the eternal discontent of civilization, in that this ball, inspired as it was by a worthy and charitable thought, received criticism both abroad and at home. In France, for instance, much ill-feeling was expressed owing to the stupid and foolish interpretation of the ball as a celebration of ancient victories, won by the English at the expense of their French foes, while in England a carping poet expressed the views of a few—happily a minority—by publishing, at the price of one shilling, a long, uninteresting, but critical poem, from which the following lines have been extracted :

Since then the universal rule,
 Man's daily and appointed task,
 Whether philosopher or fool,
 Is to put on some specious mask,
 We cannot feel surprise or wrath,
 That our most *intellectual* Queen
 Should send her countless thousands forth
 For fancy dresses, blue or green.
 Nay, though we may not check a smile,
 Perchance of scorn, to think that this
 Fair monarch of our mighty isle
 Aspires to no more worthy bliss,—
 Than 'mid a ball-room's vulgar glare,
 'Mid tinselled peers and jewelled hags,
 To count each loyal lady's store,
 Arranged in fancy's glittering rags—
 Yet when we think of Queens—Kings
 Who've sate before on Britain's throne,
 Who've cracked men's heart (not fiddle) strings,—
 Whose music was a nation's groan,
 We ought in gratitude to praise
 God's goodness, and the lucky chance
 That gives us, in these modern days,
 Rulers at least that only—*dance*.
 Albert with zeal the scheme embraced,
 Since, thanks to us, no longer light,
 His purse can gratify his taste
 For all that's frivolously bright ;
 But why he chose King Edward's part,
 Heaven and Victoria only know ;

Some curious costumes graced the scene,
 Of which just one or two I'll name,
 That to the masque of England's Queen,
 To pay their loyal homage came.
 Melbourne, in saucy garb arrayed,
 Dressed as a Roman *parasite* ;
 Who earned the meals his patron paid
 By " glozing " jokes and flattery light.

That, ye aristocrats, whose gold,
 Squandered on fashion's brittle toys,
 Is like yourselves, so bright and cold,
 Of this dark contrast to your joys.

Think, what a little part bestowed
 On those lone huts where misery scowls,
 Would turn from Satan's fearful road
 Your Brother Men's despairing souls.
 Think, did I say ! no, heartless crew,
 Self to your thoughts is all in all,
 Let *them* curse God, and die, while you
 Dance at Victoria's Fancy Ball !

A few days after the ball, there was unfortunately a second attempt on the life of the Queen, namely, on Sunday, the 29th of May. The Queen and the Prince were driving along the Mall toward Buckingham Palace, when Albert noticed a man step forward out of the crowd and present a pistol directly at him. The trigger snapped, but the shot missed fire. Upon their arrival at the Palace the Prince spoke to the two footmen who had been at the back of the carriage, but as they had not noticed the incident, nor anybody else, Albert began to think he was mistaken, but nevertheless, the next morning, his fears were confirmed by a boy who came to the Palace with a story to the effect that he had seen the man present a pistol, and had heard him exclaim afterward : " Fool that I was not to fire ! "

The fact that a man was seeking their lives was anything but a pleasant one, but despite the greatest activity on the part of the police no trace was found of the would-be assassin. Meanwhile, the doctor having insisted that Queen Victoria should be out in the open air as much as possible, the Royal couple decided that, rather than have a sword of Damocles constantly hanging over their heads, they would issue forth the next day, giving the man a second opportunity to fire at them ; meanwhile they posted numerous policemen in plain clothes, who were instructed to act upon the slightest suspicion.

The next afternoon Queen Victoria and Prince Albert drove to Hampstead, giving orders to their postillion to drive faster than usual. Nothing happened on the outward journey, but on their way homeward, as they passed the place where the Prince had previously seen the man with the pistol, a

244 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

carpenter named John Bartlett, stepped out, and fired directly at the Queen, but the shot went underneath the carriage, and before he could fire again a policeman, who was standing nearby, seized him, and the man was arrested, punishment being summarily dealt out to him.

Unhappily the Queen had scarcely recovered from what must have been a shock to her, when, on the 3rd July, there was a third attempt on her life, while she was driving with the King of the Belgians in the Mall. Having read of the misdeeds of Bartlett and Oxford, a cripple lad named John William Beam, thought, in a mild way, to emulate the example of the other two would-be assassins, but as it was proved that the lad had no intention of causing real hurt to his monarch, he received only eighteen months' imprisonment.

About two weeks later, however, occurred what is perhaps the most pleasing incident of this year, and it concerns the great composer, Mendelssohn, who, during the years 1842 and 1844, frequently visited the Queen at Buckingham Palace. Concerning one of his visits in 1842 he wrote to his mother a letter which reveals a delightful picture of the Queen's private life.

"Prince Albert," he wrote, "had asked me to go to him on Saturday at two o'clock, so that I might try his organ before I left England: I found him alone, and as we were talking away the Queen came in, also alone, in a simple morning dress. She said she was obliged to leave for Claremont in an hour, and then, suddenly interrupting herself, exclaimed, 'But goodness, what a confusion!' for the wind had littered the whole room, and even the pedals of the organ (which, by the way, made a very pretty feature in the room), with leaves of music from a large portfolio that lay open. As she spoke she knelt down and began picking up the music; Prince Albert helped, and I too was not idle. Then Prince Albert proceeded to explain the stops to me, and she said she would meanwhile put things straight.

"I begged that the Prince would first play me something, so that, as I said, I might boast about it in Germany; and he

played a Chorale by heart ; and the Queen, having finished her work, came and sat by him and listened, and looked pleased. Then it was my turn, and I began my chorus from ' St. Paul '—' How lovely are the messengers.' Before I got to the end of the first verse they both joined in the chorus, and all the time Prince Albert managed the stops for me so cleverly—first a flute at the forte, the great organ at the D major part of the whole, then he made a lovely diminuendo with the stops, and so on to the end of the piece, and all by heart—that I was really quite enchanted.

" Then the young Prince of Gotha* came in, and there was more chatting ; and the Queen asked if I had written any new songs, and said she was very fond of singing my published ones. ' You should sing one to him,' said Prince Albert ; and, after a little begging, she said she would try the *Frühlingslied* in B flat—' If it is still here,' she added, ' for all my music is packed up for Claremont.' Prince Albert went to look for it, but came back, saying it was already packed. ' But one might perhaps unpack it,' said I. ' We must send for Lady ——,' she said. (I did not catch the name.) So the bell was rung, and the servants were sent after it, but without success ; and at last the Queen went herself, and while she was gone Prince Albert said to me, ' She begs you will accept this present as a remembrance,' and gave me a little case with a beautiful ring, on which is engraved ' V.R. 1842.'

" Then the Queen came back, and said, ' Lady —— is gone, and has taken all my things with her. It really is most annoying !' (You cannot think how that amused me.) I then begged that I might not be made to suffer for the accident, and hoped she could sing another song. After some consultation with her husband, he said, ' She will sing you something of Gluck's.' Meantime the Princess of Gotha had come in, and we five proceeded through various corridors and rooms to the Queen's sitting-room. The Duchess of Kent came in too, and while they were all talking I rummaged about among the music, and soon discovered my first set of songs.

* Brother of Prince Albert.

246 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

So, of course, I begged her rather to sing one of these than the Gluck, to which she very kindly consented ; and which did she choose ?—‘ *Schöner und schöner schmückt sich !* ’ ; sang it quite charmingly, in strict time and tune, and with very good execution.—Then I was obliged to confess that Fanny* had written the song (which I found very hard, but pride must have a fall), and to beg her to sing one of mine also. If I would give her plenty of help, she would gladly try, she said, and then she sang the Pilgerspruch ‘ *Lass dich nur* ’ really quite faultlessly, and with charming feeling and expression. I thought to myself, one must not pay too many compliments on such an occasion, so I merely thanked her a great many times ; upon which she said, ‘ Oh ! if only I had not been so frightened. Generally I have such long breath.’ Then I praised her heartily, and with the best conscience in the world ; for just that part with the long C at the close she had done so well, taking it and the three notes next to it all in the same breath, as one seldom hears it done, and therefore it amused me doubly that she herself should have begun about it.

“ After this Prince Albert sang the Aerndtelied, ‘ *Es ist ein Schnitter !* ’ and then he said I must improvise something before I went, and they followed me with so much intelligence and attention that I felt more at my ease than I ever did in improvising to an audience. The Queen said several times she hoped I would soon come to England again and pay them a visit, and then I took leave ; and down below I saw the beautiful carriages waiting, with their scarlet outriders, and in a quarter of an hour the flag was lowered, and the ‘ Court Circular ’ announced : ‘ Her Majesty left the Palace at twenty minutes past three.’ ”

On the 28th of June, 1843, the Queen’s first cousin Augusta, elder daughter of the Duke of Cambridge, was married at Buckingham Palace, to Friedrich, Hereditary Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.

To this ceremony the Queen’s uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, now King of Hanover, was invited, and his presence

* Mendelssohn’s sister.

lead to a piquant incident which the chatty Mr. Raikes relates ; who heard it from the lips of the Duke of Wellington while they were breakfasting together :

“ When we proceeded to the signatures of the bride and bridegroom, the King of Hanover was very anxious to sign before Prince Albert, and when the Queen approached the table, he placed himself by her side, watching his opportunity. She knew very well what he was about, and just as the archbishop was giving her the pen, she suddenly dodged round the table, placed herself next to the Prince, then quickly took the pen from the archbishop, signed, and gave it to Prince Albert, who also signed next before it could be prevented. The Queen was also very anxious to give the precedence at Court to King Leopold before the King of Hanover, and she consulted me about it, and how it should be arranged. I told Her Majesty that I supposed it should be settled as we did at the Congress of Vienna. ‘ How was that ? ’ said she ; ‘ by first arrival ? ’ ‘ No, Ma’am,’ said I, ‘ but alphabetically, and B. comes before H.’ This pleased her very much ; and it was done.”

Early in February 1845 the Queen wrote in a firm tone to Sir Robert Peel concerning the state of Buckingham Palace :

“ PAVILION,

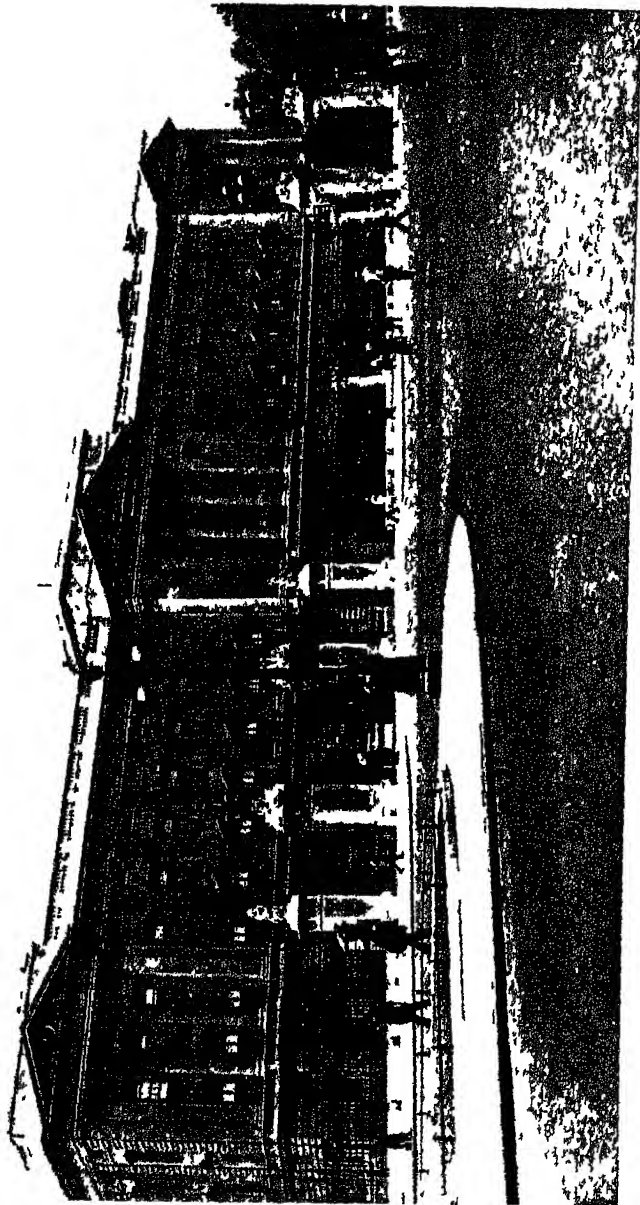
10th February, 1845.

“ Though the Queen knows that Sir Robert Peel has already turned his attention to the urgent necessity of doing something to Buckingham Palace, the Queen thinks it right to recommend this subject herself to his serious consideration. Sir Robert is acquainted with the state of the Palace and the total want of accommodation for our little family, which is fast growing up. Any building must necessarily take some years before it can be safely inhabited. If it were to be begun this autumn, it could hardly be occupied before the spring of 1848, when the Prince of

Wales would be nearly seven, and the Princess Royal nearly eight years old, and they cannot possibly be kept in the nursery any longer. A provision for this purpose ought, therefore, to be made this year. Independent of this, most parts of the Palace are in a sad state, and will ere long require a further outlay to render them *decent* for the occupation of the Royal Family or any visitors the Queen may have to receive. A room, capable of containing a larger number of those persons whom the Queen has to invite in the course of the season to balls, concerts, etc., than any of the present apartments can at once hold, is much wanted. Equally so, improved offices and servants' rooms, the want of which puts the departments of the household to great expense yearly. It will be for Sir Robert to consider whether it would not be best to remedy all these deficiencies at once, and to make use of his opportunity to render the exterior of the Palace such as no longer to be a *disgrace* to the country, which it certainly now is. The Queen thinks the country would be better pleased to have the question of the Sovereign's residence in London so finally disposed of, than to have it so repeatedly brought before it."

To this letter Peel replied that, as a renewal of the Income Tax was about to be proposed, it would be better to postpone the application to Parliament until the public feeling as to the tax had been ascertained, consequently that year the Queen's demands were not made public.

Later on in the year the Queen held another of her famous costume balls at the Palace, this time the period represented 1740 to 1750, and the festivity was designated the "Powder Ball." Once again this entertainment did not escape being criticized, but as before the Queen's only motive in holding the ball was to promote trade, so much so that ladies were requested to wear dresses of English manufacture only. That the Queen fulfilled her object may be gathered by reading current newspaper reports of that time, that many of the



E.V.A.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE AS IT APPEARS TO-DAY

costumiers of London were kept busy for months preceding the ball, while antique jewellery attained such fictitious prices that it was rumoured that the sword of one gentleman who attended the dance cost him as much as £2500.

The ball, which took place on the 6th June, was not less magnificent than the preceding one. This time the guests numbered one thousand two hundred in all, while the Diplomatic Corps and foreigners of different countries who had been invited appeared in the uniform of their respective countries which had been in use at the period of 1740. The Queen herself received her guests dressed in a gorgeous brocaded dress cloaked with point lace which had belonged to her grandmother, Queen Charlotte.

In this year the chapel on the south side, which had originally been a conservatory, was consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury on the 25th March.

In the spring of the following year Sir Robert Peel broke the news to the Lords of the Treasury that Her Majesty was suffering great inconvenience from insufficient accommodation afforded by the Palace, after which he quoted Mr. Blore's report to the effect that the architect had "long been aware of the extreme inconvenience to which Her Majesty personally, the juvenile members of the royal family and the whole of the royal establishment had been subjected in consequence of the insufficiency of Buckingham Palace in point of accommodation."

Apparently the inconveniences enumerated by Mr. Blore were that the private apartments in the north wing "were not calculated originally for a married sovereign, the head of a family," and that the nursery department was confined to "a few rooms in the attics of the same wing," that the basement of the same wing was used by the Lord Chamberlain for his department of the store-rooms and workshops, from which there was a constant noise and a continual smell of oil and glue, added to which, according to Mr. Blore, "the kitchen, again, is a nuisance to the Palace."

After estimating how much necessary repairs would cost,

the architect quoted the figure of £150,000, to make "a new east front to the Palace, clear out and rearrange rooms in the south wing, make alterations in the north wing, new kitchen and offices with ballroom over, take down the marble arch, decorate, paint and alter drains."

Despite the immensity of this sum, which seemed all the greater in view of the sums of money which had already been thrown away in building a palace which was apparently neither ornamental nor useful, the Lords of the Treasury agreed that the nuisance complained of was so great that it was necessary for the workmen to commence immediately.

Perhaps the most noteworthy of these alterations which Queen Victoria instituted was the ballroom, which, when finished in 1856, was magnificently panelled in crimson silk, had an inlaid, polished floor, and was built from the designs of Mr. Pennethorne, and decorated by Grunner. On either side were three tiers of seats, at the upper end a platform for the orchestra, at the back of which was an organ which had originally graced the Pavilion at Brighton. At the other end of the ballroom from the orchestra platform, was the royal dais. This room is stated to have cost £300,000.

With reference to the estimate for altering the drainage, it is significant that, in 1902, the Office of Works referred to drains *as laid out by the Office of Works a few years ago*, which were tested and found: "well planned and carried out, and reflect credit on all concerned with them."

The removal of the Marble Arch was not actually effected until the year 1851, at the cost of approximately thirty thousand pounds—not £150,000 as one writer affirmed—it being taken to the corner where the Tyburn gallows had once stood; the site it occupies to this day, its chief purpose now being that of a centrepiece around which the traffic can circle, and supplying a convenient name for an adjacent underground railway!

CHAPTER XXIII

BUCKINGHAM PALACE: VICTORIA (CONCLUDED)

DURING the subsequent years the Queen continued to fulfil the many arduous duties which make the life of a member of the royal family the last one could possibly desire of all the known unpleasant occupations.

Between the years 1840 and 1857 she bore, in all, nine children: both as wife and Queen she more than did her duty in that one feat alone; it is incredible that she could have found time to carry out any other obligations. Nevertheless, this amazing woman did so; even while she continued to bear children she conducted the affairs of a disturbed and unsettled country with a firmness and sagacity scarcely equalled in the history of the rulers of this country—at any rate up to the time she ascended the throne.

As a mother she never failed to superintend the training of her children with the same scrupulousness, and perhaps the same severity, with which she herself had been educated. Notwithstanding the constant calls upon her she always found time to join in with them in their games, encouraged them in their accomplishments, and saw that they did not lack the companionship which had made her own childhood anything but a happy one.

As wife, no one could have been more devoted to her husband—nor was her love unreciprocated. Their affection for each other was an example to the nation, perhaps more than anything else it served to implant in the hearts of their subjects the first seeds of respect for royalty, which subsequently flourished in still greater measure when Edward

the Peacemaker came to the throne, and now, toward King George and his family it could not be greater.

To be a loving wife and mother, as all wives and mothers know too well, is an occupation in itself; but Victoria was also a Queen, and as the First Hostess of the country it was necessary for her to entertain, both lavishly and in a more domestic manner. Although she herself was far from being a lover of the lighter type of literature, she did not neglect contemporary *litterateurs*, with the most famous of whom she formed a personal acquaintance.

Foremost among them was Dickens: the story of the interest which Victoria took in the immortal novelist has been admirably told by Forster in his "Life of Dickens."

In 1857 it was hoped to obtain the Queen's patronage for some amateur theatrical performances organized by Charles Dickens which it was proposed to hold on behalf of the family of Douglas Jerrold, but on account of the organization being a public effort on behalf of private individuals, refusal was necessary for fear of creating a precedent.

The Queen, notwithstanding, wished to see Dickens act, and desired him to give a performance in one of the rooms in the Palace, but, as happy as Dickens would have been to have complied, certain difficulties made this proposition unfeasible, so the novelist suggested that the Queen should, one night, attend the *Gallery of Illustration*—formerly 29 Dover Street, a spacious residence which Nash, the architect, had built for himself—for a special performance.

This suggestion appealed to the Queen, who therefore attended the Gallery of Illustration, and was so pleased with the performance that, afterward, she requested Dickens to appear before her in the royal box to accept her thanks, but he was unable to do so.

A few years later Dickens brought back with him from the United States of America some large and striking photographs of the Civil War battlefields, which the Queen desired to inspect. These Dickens sent to her, and at the Queen's request later attended the Palace to be personally thanked by

Her Majesty. During the conversation that followed the novelist begged to be allowed to send the Queen a bound copy of some of his writings, whereupon Victoria picked up a volume of her own work upon the Highlands, and autographed it "To Charles Dickens," saying that, as "one of the humblest of writers" she felt ashamed to offer it to "one of the greatest."

Tennyson gained a very high place in the Queen's esteem ; she corresponded with him until the day of his death. Carlyle also met the Queen, and wrote that it was "impossible to imagine a politer little woman, nothing the least imperious, all gentle, all sincere—makes you feel, too (if you have any sense in you) that she is Queen." Others whom the Queen met were Browning, Sir Charles Lyell, the geologist, and Grote, the historian.

Among the great actors and actresses who performed at Buckingham Palace during the reign of Victoria may be mentioned the great French actress, Mlle Rachel, Mr. and Mrs. Keeley, Macready, Phelps, Charles Mathews, Ben Webster, Buckstone, and Charles Kean, who was appointed director of the Palace performances.

Another picture of the Queen's private life—once again so reminiscent of her grandfather—is to be found in the diary of Mr. Uwins, who, with Eastlake, Maclise, Landseer, Dyce, Stanfield, Leslie and Ross, was commissioned to decorate the Queen's summer-house in the Palace gardens. "In many things they (Queen Victoria and Prince Albert) are an example to the age. They have breakfasted, heard morning prayers with the household in the private chapel, and are out some distance from the Palace talking to us in the summer-house before half-past nine o'clock, sometimes earlier. After the public duties of the day, and before their dinner, they come out again, evidently delighted to get away from the bustle of the world to enjoy each other's society in the solitude of the garden. . . . Here, too, the Royal children are brought out by their nurses, and the whole arrangement seems like real domestic pleasure."

Considering that Queen Victoria took up residence in Buckingham Palace soon after her accession to the throne, and that she reigned sixty years, it is rather disappointing that during that long period there are very few reminiscences of the Palace itself. Unfortunately, however, for the purposes of this history, although the Queen as a young woman was very fond of her native city, when she married she began to express a dislike for London, in this influenced by her husband, who had rapidly acquired a distaste for the capital. In consequence of this it was not very long before their Majesties looked elsewhere for their private homes, not even Windsor Castle proving entirely agreeable to them in their love for solitude.

Consequently, in 1844, Victoria purchased the estate of Osborn, in the Isle of Wight, and in 1848 she first leased Balmoral House, both of which places subsequently became far more identified with the life of the Queen than Buckingham Palace. There were, in fact, some years during which the royal family did not spend more than a few days at their London home.

Thus, from the third of the Queen's famous costume balls—the last of which represented the Stuart Period—until the time when, at the age of eighty-one, she breathed her last, after having reigned sixty-three years, it might be said that nothing happened of further consequence—at any rate, nothing of sufficient importance to warrant inclusion in this work.

From 1861, when the Prince Consort died, until Edward VII ascended the throne, the Palace was devoid of incident. As is remembered even to this day, in her grief, Victoria shut herself away from the nation, and except at rare intervals, her people saw little of her, although she continued her official duties.

The years rolled on, wars were fought and won, new inventions began to startle the world, countries changed hands, the Prince of Wales grew older—an uncrowned king almost—but Victoria still remained Queen, in face of muttered sugges-

tions that she should abdicate in favour of the Prince of Wales, until, in 1901, she passed away : at last Edward was King.

Once or twice Victoria has been compared in this work with George III. Indeed, their lives were so akin in many ways that Plutarch never discovered two lives so similar : the parallel incidents of their lives are worthy of enumeration.

In the first case both were children of fathers who did not reign : both were kept by their widowed mothers strictly in seclusion until they reached their majorities : both were offered bribes to break away from the influence of their mothers : both accepted the money, but refused to leave their natural protectors : both married extremely happily : both wedded after they had commenced their reigns : both reigned an extraordinary length of time : both were fond of a simple and homely life, and above all both were beyond reproach in their moral habits : both had obstinate natures : both tried to break the power of the constitutional laws of the country (Victoria, to a minor degree only) : both were eccentric toward the latter part of their reigns : both were extremely fond of music, especially of performances at Buckingham Palace rather than in more public places of amusement : both were extremely brave in the face of physical danger : both suffered several unsuccessful attempts at their lives, and finally, it must be admitted that in many ways the characters of their eldest sons were not dissimilar, for Edward VII was as charming as George IV, had the same vivid and winning personality, and perhaps the same taste for amusements, though where one stepped beyond all bounds of decency, the other merely skirted a border-line which endeared him all the more to a people who love not prigs or hypocrites.

CHAPTER XXIV

BUCKINGHAM PALACE: EDWARD VII

WHATEVER the merits and demerits of Queen Victoria, it must be admitted that, once she married, she ceased to be what might be termed a "picturesque" character. As a woman she was sweetly charming, as a wife, wonderful, loving, as a mother, dutiful and conscientious, as a queen, imperiously regal—almost too much so—but as a background for a romantic study, she compares unfavourably with the fanatical Duchess of Buckingham, who with her crazy Jacobite plotting, and her eccentric worship of Stuart anniversaries, however unpleasant, stands out as a vivid and arresting personality.

How different was Edward, who was born in Buckingham Palace, and who subsequently grew up to be as meteoric as Victoria was stolid: as much in the limelight as she was hidden in the sombre background.

Edward was born on the 9th of November, 1841, in the customary presence, in the ante-room, of several officers of State, among whom was the Duke of Wellington. The moment the birth took place the doors of the State-room were thrown open, and those present had the honour of inspecting the Heir to the Throne. An incident which took place has been immortalized by Thackeray, in one of the "Ballads of Policeman":

"Then Mrs. Lily, the nurse,
Towards them steps with joy,
Says the brave old Duke, 'Come tell to us,
Is it a gal or a boy?'
Says Mrs. L. to the Duke,
'Your Grace, it is a *Prince*,'
And at that nuss's bold rebuke
He did both laugh and wince."



QUEEN VICTORIA
Photograph by Walery

The great news was conveyed to the anxious people by the firing of guns. Within a few minutes flags and pennons were flying in every available place, while the bells of the churches pealed the public joy. During the day the Palace was visited by all the nobility and officials of State ; at two o'clock a special meeting of the Privy Council was summoned for the purpose of arranging a thanksgiving. In the evening the streets were illuminated, and everywhere the health of the new-born Prince and his mother was drunk with wild enthusiasm.

In the days that followed the newspapers filled their columns with the usual panegyrics, but, as usual, *Punch*, with a few versified lines, was more successful in suggesting the real feelings of the people than all the hyperbolic leaders of the, supposed, more sober publications.

Huzza ! we've a little prince at last,
 A roaring royal boy,
 And all day long the booming bells
 Have rung their peals of joy.
 And the little park-guns have blazed away,
 And made a tremendous noise,
 Whilst the air hath been filled since eleven o'clock
 With the shouts of little boys ;
 And we have taken our little bell,
 And rattled and laughed, and sang as well—
 Roo-too-tooit ! Shallabella !
 Life to the Prince ! Fallalderalla !

Our little Prince (though he heard them not)
 Hath been greeted with honied words,
 And his cheeks have been fondled to win a smile
 By the Privy Council Lords.
 Will he trust the ' charmer ' in after years,
 And deem he is more than man ?
 Or will he feel that he's but a speck
 In creation's mighty plan ?
 Let us hope the best, and rattle our bell,
 And shout and laugh, and sing as well—
 Roo-too-tooit ! Shallabella !
 Life to the Prince ! Fallalderalla !

258 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

Our little Prince, when he grows a boy,
 Will be taught by men of lore,
 From the 'dusty tome' of the ancient sage,
 As Kings have been taught before.
 But will there be *one* good, true man near,
 To tutor the infant heart?
 To tell him the world was made for all,
 And the poor man claims his part?
 We trust there will; so we'll rattle our bell,
 And shout and laugh, and sing as well—
 Roo-too-tooit! Shallabella!
 Life to the Prince! Fallalderalla!

The early childhood of Prince Edward passed without incident. As soon as he was old enough his education was begun, and, thanks to Baron Stockmar, it was arranged for the Prince to be educated in the country of his birth, for the wise old Councillor had delved back into historical records to discover that the English people were more ready to condone the faults of an English-educated Prince than one who had received his store of learning in foreign countries.

His programme was followed: after the dowager Lady Lyttelton had moulded him in his first stage, she was succeeded by the Rev. Henry Birch, Mr. F. W. Gibbs, the Rev. C. F. Tarver, and finally Mr. Herbert W. Fisher. Afterward he was sent for a course of instruction at Edinburgh; that completed, he was sent to Oxford, and thence to Cambridge. Beside attending at these universities, it was proposed to send the Prince to Germany, Italy, and Spain, there to learn the languages of those respective countries.

So ambitious was his parents' programme, in fact, that the people began to have anxieties that he might develop into a prodigy of learning, thereby losing the personal charm and spontaneous gaiety which were, already, becoming associated with him. Once again *Punch* voiced the public sentiments:

Thou dear little Wales—sure the saddest of tales
 In the tale of the studies with which they are cramming thee;
 In thy tuckers and bibs, handed over to Gibbs,
 Who for eight years with solid instruction was ramming thee.

Then, to fill any nook Gibbs had chanced to o'erlook,
 In those poor little brains, sick of learned palaver,
 When thou'dst fain rolled in clover, they handed thee over,
 To the prim pedagogic protection of Tarver.

In Edinburgh next, thy poor noddle perplex.
 The gauntlet must run of each science and study ;
 Till the mixed streams of knowledge, turned on by the college,
 Through the field of thy boy-brains run shallow and muddy.

To the South from the North—from the shores of the Forth,
 Where at hands Presbyterian pure science is quaffed—
 The Prince, in a trice, is whipped off to the Isis,
 Where Oxford keeps springs mediæval on draught.

Dipped in grey Oxford mixture (lest that prove a fixture),
 The poor lad's to be plunged in less orthodox Cam :
 Where dynamics and statics, and pure mathematics,
 'Will be piled on his brain's awful cargo of cram.

Where next the boy *may* go to swell the farrago,
 We haven't yet heard : but the Palace they're plotting in,
 To Berlin, Jena, Bonn, he'll no doubt be passed on to,
 And drop in, for a finishing touch, p'raps, at Gottingen.

'Gainst indulging the passion for the high pressure fashion
 Of Prince-training, *Punch* would uplift loyal warning ;
 Locomotives we see, over-stoked soon may be,
 Till the supersteamed boiler blows up some fine morning.

The Great Eastern's disaster should teach us to master
 Our passions for pace, lest the mind's water jacket—
 Steam for exit fierce panting, and safety valves wanting—
 Should explode round the brain, of a sudden, and crack it.

The story of Prince Edward's life : brilliant, glorious, and regal, has no place in this volume, for, during the years while the Prince became, successively, child, boy, man, and later, representative of the Sovereign, Victoria continued to reign. Consequently the Palace saw little of him as a youth, and still less of him once he reached man's estate, and took up official residence at Marlborough House, and later, Sandringham, which he acquired in 1861, purchasing it with the accumulated income of the Duchy of Cornwall which had been set aside for him until he reached his majority.

Under these circumstances it would be irrelevant to dwell at any length upon the life of the Prince before he ascended the throne, and occupied Buckingham Palace, except, perhaps, to attempt a brief characterization of the Prince who was to become the most beloved King in the annals of history.

In some ways his personality was not unlike that of George IV, especially did he have the same manner of charm which, in both Kings, invariably conquered the hearts of all women and most men who came into personal contact with them. Moreover, he was an extremely energetic worker, willing, at all times, to sacrifice himself for the good of his country.

From his mother he inherited and disclosed a consciousness of royal dignity ; the thousands of anecdotes connected with him reveal that he never suffered presumption of any sort, although—unlike his parent—he was always ready to offer his friendship regardless of caste.

From his father—whose praises, unfortunately, have never been sufficiently sung—he inherited that admirable sense of tact and diplomacy which Prince Albert never failed to exercise in any less measure than his son, but which distinguished King Edward, above everything else, and ultimately earned him the sobriquet of "Peacemaker."

Further, he was, from the bottom of his heart, a sportsman, an attribute which, in itself, was enough to make his people overlook all other faults—the same people who ignored his father's finer qualities, and cavilled at the Prince Consort because he did not ride with the hounds ! He was fond of all recreations, indoors and out, he was a patron of the Turf, he was the hero of the opposite sex—what more of any human man could the British people expect of their Sovereign ?

Little wonder that, even as a Prince, Edward implanted in the hearts of the public a love which never lessened. Everywhere he went, at home or abroad, he was honoured and welcomed—and they are not synonymous terms by any means—like Cæsar, "he came, he saw, he conquered."

At home his love for pageantry, shared by his mother's

subjects, was all the more emphasized by the seclusion in which Victoria shut herself, upon the death of the Prince Consort. Always demanding colourful pomp, picturesque ceremony, Victoria was not excused by her people when, after a respectable time for mourning had elapsed, the Queen plainly expressed her disinclination to indulge, once more, in the pageantry of ceremonious public engagements and unrivalled hospitality which she, herself, had reintroduced in the earlier years of her life.

Fortunately the Prince more or less stepped into the breach, and was rewarded by an unexampled wave of popularity which soon became embarrassing, so much so that, on occasions when the Queen and the Prince appeared together in public, the son was either kept well in the background, or else placed side by side with Victoria, so that the Queen should not suspect that the acclamations which she heard were for her son rather than herself.

The Queen's retirement from public affairs threw a tremendous amount of extra work upon the shoulders of the Prince, but he accepted the fact gallantly, and never faltered in doing his duty. In acknowledging his supreme kingship, therefore, it must not be forgotten that his apprenticeship was sufficiently long enough to enable him to be as perfect a king as could possibly be expected of any human man—and Edward was very human !

For sixty years Edward remained Prince of Wales—and how onerous that fact must have been to the son of Victoria, only he himself would have dared whisper, and then only from the deepest recesses of his heart—but in 1901, Edward ascended the throne, and thus began the all-too-short reign of the "Peacemaker," and his wonderful, wondrous Consort, Queen Alexandra.

It was sometime before the King and Queen could move into Buckingham Palace, for, owing to it having remained comparatively tenantless during the latter period of Queen Victoria's reign, it was discovered that many internal improvements were necessary to adapt it for the new ruler and his

Consort; but in due course Edward and Alexandra left Marlborough House, and moved into the Palace, and once again the rooms became alive with the attendant bustle and ceremony of royal occupation. Moreover, the Palace suddenly leaped into greater prominence than ever before—during the few years in which Victoria had lived most of her time there, because of the effect of the previous Hanoverian reigns, she was, in those early days, viewed with a certain amount of suspicion: the people were not yet sure of her, and by the time she eventually captured the trust of her subjects she spent such little time in Buckingham Palace that, in a sense, the Palace was in the background.

This was not so in the case of King Edward VII. As related, he had already, as Prince of Wales, earned the love of the people. There was no suspicion now, no uneasy muttering, no fear: only unadulterated joy and respect. Thus, once it became evident that the King intended to live in the Palace, that building immediately became identified with the monarch, and so it remained until the end of Edward's reign.

From Buckingham Palace the King opened his first Parliament early in 1902; it was in the Palace that their Majesties held the first Court of their reign, when it was understood that the evening Courts, by command of the King, were henceforward to take the place of Victoria's afternoon Drawing-Rooms. This function was particularly brilliant, for the magnificent rooms and corridors had been newly decorated.

It was toward the middle of this year that the Palace began to form the intimate link between the Sovereign and the people which it has remained until this day, for two days before the 26th of June, which had been fixed for the Coronation, it was announced that the King was seriously ill, and that an immediate operation was necessary.

In incredulous disbelief the people flocked to the gates of the Palace to confirm the news for themselves. Never had such scenes been witnessed before as occurred during the remainder of the day, for as quickly as one group moved quietly away, so the space was taken up by fresh comers. All

that day, and well into the night, hushed, patient crowds stood around the Palace, hour after hour, until the last bulletin of the day was affixed to the gates, and there was no more to be learned.

This scene was repeated day after day, and more than anything else confirmed the feelings of the people toward the King, who seemed as if he were to die before he had been crowned. Not until it was certain that Edward had recovered did the people melt away from the Palace gates, and the Mall and Constitution Hill resume their normal appearance.

Nevertheless, although Edward adopted Buckingham Palace as his chief home, it cannot be said that he spent much time within its walls. He was often away from England altogether, because his work, his task of keeping the peace of the Empire—one might almost say, the peace of Europe—caused him to pay many ceremonious visits to foreign climes, and often because his inclination took him across to the Continent—especially to the France—he loved.

Short as was his reign, it was a crowded one. His biography reveals him travelling here, there, and everywhere, to the British Dominions, to India, to the U.S.A., all over the Continent, everywhere cementing the ties of friendship, everywhere imparting a truer sense of the word Englishman in the eyes of foreigners. Soon after his Ascension, in 1903, he visited Portugal, from where he went to Gibraltar, and thence to Malta, and then on to Naples and Rome, where he was received by the King of Italy. On his return here he paid his first formal visit to Edinburgh, and held Courts at Holyrood. Next he went to Dublin. Later in the year he went to Marienbad, and then on to Vienna, where he was received by the Austrian Emperor, and early the next year he again visited Ireland; in June he visited the German Emperor at Kiel.

The results of these visits were many. In the first case politeness made return visits necessary; consequently Edward soon afterward in Buckingham Palace entertained President Loubet of France, the King and Queen of Italy, and the King

264 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

and Queen of Portugal. England's isolation became a thing of the past; and in consequence, during the next few years, treaty after treaty was signed—Edward became a peacemaker indeed !

However boisterous the life of the King during the nine years of his reign, the history of the Palace during the same period reads placidly, almost uninterestingly : although in 1905 further improvements were made to the exterior of the Palace, in order to improve its approach. Little marred the even tenor of its daily routine except Courts and other social functions which, somehow, were less fascinating than in the days when Nell Gwynn twitted the raging Barbara Villiers, or Sheffield surreptitiously kissed the hand of Princess Anne, or the darting eyes of the Prince Regent searched for fresh lips to kiss and desert.

Foreign visitors—kings, emperors, princes—arrived and disappeared again, for a nonce rousing Londoners to a modified pitch of enthusiasm, but the glittering ebullition of their visits was scarcely a nine days' wonder, still less episodes worthy of repetition. So far as this work is concerned the occupancy of Edward VII of Buckingham Palace is as empty of incidents as was that of Queen Victoria during the last forty years of her reign.

The story of the Palace during King Edward's reign reaches its finale with the last sad incident of the King's death on the 6th May, 1910. During the previous twelve months, not only had the King worked so hard that he had found it necessary twice to go away to recuperate, but he had been faced with a Cabinet crisis, so worrying indeed, that many authorities had not hesitated to proclaim that the political situation of 1909, developing as it did into an acute constitutional crisis, had so seriously disturbed the King in mind and health, that his fatal illness was the direct consequence of it.

Of this the public knew little. Only on the previous day did they become fully acquainted with the news that the King was ill, and so gravely that the Queen hurried back from



E.N.A.

KING EDWARD VII

the Continent, in spite of a terrible storm, in order to be with her royal husband.

As soon as the news leaked out, and the gravity of the situation was realised by the public, Buckingham Palace became, once again, a shrine of grief. As in the days before the King's Coronation the crowd had collected round the Palace gates in hundreds and thousands, anxiously scanning every bulletin posted on the gate, so now again those scenes were repeated.

Inside the Palace, in a bedchamber overlooking the Green Park, the King fought a gallant but losing fight with the Angel of Death, and he himself was no less aware of his situation than the doctors. "My back is to the wall, I shall fight it out," he said weakly, and his great spirit fought bravely. He refused to remain in bed, but instead sat up in a large chair, maintaining that he was able to breathe more easily in that position. His wife and family were in constant attendance all through the day, and all other members of the royal family were admitted to what it was evident was to be their last farewell of the King.

The following day Edward continued to fight indomitably, but his body was weaker than his will. Though he continued to read a few letters, and to speak to those who surrounded him, about three-thirty on the Friday afternoon, the 6th of May, he was carried to his bed, rapidly growing weaker every second, although, later in the afternoon, when news was brought to him of the victory of his horse at Epsom Park, he roused himself to send a message of congratulation to the manager of his racing stable.

Later he became unconscious, and in that state passed away a few minutes before midnight, and thus for the first time within the history of the Palace a King died within its walls.

CHAPTER XXV

BUCKINGHAM PALACE: GEORGE V

KING EDWARD VII was succeeded by his second son, Prince George Frederick Ernest Albert, who was proclaimed as His Majesty King George V.

King George was born on the 3rd of June, 1865, at Marlborough House, having for an elder brother, Prince Albert Victor, who had been brought into the world on the 8th of January, 1864.

The early life of Prince George is still more irrelevant to this history than was that of Edward VII. The two brothers were brought up very simply, and as far as Prince George was concerned, it probably never entered his head that he would one day ascend the throne. Consequently he spent the earlier years of his manhood in the Navy, and like William IV became known as the "Sailor Prince." However, on the 14th January, 1892, Albert Victor died, and Prince George became the Heir Apparent, and on the 7th of November, 1910, was created Prince of Wales by letters patent.

Soon after King George ascended the throne the following letter, addressed to the Editor by an anonymous member of the public, appeared in a column of *The Times* :

" 1st June, 1910.

" SIR,

" Whatever form the national tribute to the memory of our late King may take, may I suggest that some part of the funds raised should go to the decoration, as a personal tribute, of the eastern front of Buckingham Palace which was King Edward VII's home during the whole of his reign.

As it stands now, it is mean and ugly, but it is a well-proportioned building, and if it were treated architecturally might be made a worthy termination of the Mall, which will some day be one of the finest avenues in the world, and which is especially associated with the reigns of our last two Sovereigns.

“ ANGLUS.”

In the same month the work of once again renovating the Palace was begun, for just as the Palace was prepared for the occupancy of Edward VII and his Consort, so now it was improved for George V and Queen Mary : this time the work consisted in improving the water mains in the Forecourt, which had, for some time past, been creating a considerable amount of trouble.

Not very long after the new water mains were laid and completed, work was commenced on the erection of new centre gates leading from the Mall to Buckingham Palace Forecourt, but as soon as the workmen commenced to dig the foundations for the pillars it was discovered that the water main passed immediately beneath the spot selected for one of the pillars, so the newly laid mains were dug up and diverted in the true and consistent Office of Works manner !

In the meanwhile the suggestion which *The Times* correspondent had made concerning the improvement of Buckingham Palace had borne fruit, for the Executive Committee of the Queen Victoria Memorial had decided to improve the front of Buckingham Palace in order to bring it into harmony with other recent improvements, and for this purpose the plans of Sir Aston Webb, R.A., were approved. The estimated cost of these repairs was £60,000.

On the 22nd of October, 1912, the First Commissioner of Works invited the representatives of the Press to view the designs for this new east front. On the following day *The Times* published a fairly large scale drawing of the design, together with an account of it, to quote which is an intriguing suggestion, if for no other reason than to show how the

passing years had reversed the relative positions of the abused Nash and the vaunted Blore :

“ For the last fifty years the existing front has been a reproach to London and the Empire, and many proposals have been made for improving or reconstructing it. Built under the Prince Consort’s influence by Blore, a Gothic architect unused to work on the simple lines of the English Renaissance, it offers a feeble contrast to the older west front, designed by Nash in an excellent classical style, a front which is unfortunately seen by few except when the Sovereign gives a garden party. Moreover the east building was constructed of Caen stone, quite unsuited to the London atmosphere. Decay set in immediately, and since then the application of coat after coat of paint has reduced the surface to the stucco-like condition in which we see it.

“ The completion of the Queen Victoria Memorial at last brought home to everybody the need for a new front. The background did such an injustice to the group of statuary : the colour was so horrible : the lines of the roof so ‘ busy ’ and poor ! Then it was happily found that after paying the cost of the memorial and the surrounding improvements—the one the work of Sir Thomas Brock and the other that of Sir Aston Webb—there remained in the hands of the memorial committee just enough money to refront the Palace. The order was given to Sir Aston ; . . . and we have every reason to hope that within fourteen, or perhaps, thirteen months from to-day the whole thing will be an actual and a completed fact. Portland stone . . . will be employed. Almost immediately the contractors, Messrs. Leslie, will begin cutting and numbering the stones, and by the time the Court leaves the Palace at the end of next season, this part of the work will be finished. Mr. Wedgwood Benn stated in the House yesterday that the refacing will begin early in August and is to be completed in three months.

Their Majesties will therefore enter what will seem like a new Palace before the end of 1913.

“Those who remember the existing front will see under what restricting conditions Sir Aston Webb has been working, and by what simple means he has brought about what promises a great result. No alteration of the interior or the windows or the levels has been permitted, so that all these remain as they were. The great change is brought about mainly by three new features—a new facing of stone, a series of pilasters and rounded columns supporting a bold cornice running from wing to wing and pediments in the centre and wings, and a balustrade running along the top, high enough to hide the roof and chimneys. Blore’s tiresome little adornments of the centre and the wings will give way to something much simpler which gives a good sky-line and a background which will help, not hinder, the effect of the monument when seen from the Mall.”

The plans having been settled, the contractors were approached with a view to performing the work in sections, but Messrs. Leslie preferred to complete the alterations in one fell swoop, and they were granted this privilege on the condition that they commenced and finished in the three months, August, September, and October, 1913.

To do this, the first necessity was to obtain accurate measurements of the building, and these were obtained by the use of travelling cradles, suspended from the parapets. Owing to the extreme attention necessary, the taking of the measurements occupied several weeks. Very careful drawings were made showing in detail every part of the new stonework, and a system of marking whereby every separate stone could be identified, and its position in the new work quickly determined, devised, and carried out. Time-tables were prepared showing the quantities of stonework required to be delivered to the masons’ yards and worked each week. The quantity of stone in blocks supplied from

270 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

the Portland quarries amounted to 5,757 tons, or 95,000 cubic feet. Many of the rough blocks were of great size, some of them, after being shaped and moulded ready for fixing in the building, weighing as much as five tons. For working and preparing the stonework in the yards an average of about 270 men were employed. Two weeks were spent in erecting the scaffold, six weeks in fixing the main portion of the stone, and the remainder of the time in pointing and cleaning down. Six large Scots derricks were erected, five electric hoists, and two electric passenger lifts. The scaffolding was of unusual strength, in its construction 5000 new scaffold poles were used, and from 10,000 to 12,000 boards.

To carry the increased projections of the centre block and pavilions, some heavy foundation work was necessary, and on opening the ground at the centre, part of the foundations of the Marble Arch were discovered.

To complete the job in the stipulated time work was continued day and night, approximately 350 men being employed during the day, and 180 at night. In addition to the workmen a special force of police, firemen, and watchmen were engaged.

The alterations were finished on time: on the 31st of October the King held a special dinner at the Holborn Restaurant to which nearly 800 workmen who had been employed on the work were invited, Sir Derek Keppel presiding, and the two architects, Sir Thomas Brock and Sir Aston Webb, attending.

Some months later there was mild excitement in the Palace, for early on the morning of the 7th of June a man who gave the name of Harry Pike, with an address in Pimlico, and was apparently an engineer's fitter, was found within the Palace.

He had gained admittance to the Palace grounds at a spot near the bottom of the gradeless Constitution Hill, where the surrounding wall was from ten to twelve feet in height, and surmounted with spikes at various angles. Having overcome this obstacle, Pike climbed over an unoccupied

sentry-box, and entered the Palace through a basement window, after which he proceeded to the servants' quarters, by a devious route which brought him very near to the Queen's apartments.

Once in the servants' quarters he proceeded to enter different rooms, in one of which he exchanged his own clothes for those of the absent occupant of the room. He might have continued his depredations, but in another room he awoke one of the maidservants. He apologized and audaciously excused himself by explaining he wanted Room 19, but the maid retained her suspicion, and followed him, subsequently causing his arrest.

It was about this time that the Suffragettes boasted of their determination to secure admittance into the Palace by fair means or foul, and perhaps for this purpose Mrs. Pankhurst stayed in a house in Grosvenor Place which overlooked the Palace grounds, where, incidentally, she and her friends were kept under the strictest observation. It was at first thought that Pike was connected with these militant and undignified ladies, but it was learned later that he was quite an independent intruder, probably desirous of emulating the example of the boy Jones !

It can scarcely be said that King George V began his reign under auspicious circumstances. In the first case, the political crisis which may, or may not, have been the indirect cause of the death of his father, had not been settled by that sad bereavement ; moreover, another political question, which was, a few years later, to convulse the country even up to the throne itself, namely, the Home Rule for Ireland question, was even then approaching its crisis. King George, however, had a greater difficulty than either of these two obstacles to overcome—the personality of his own father.

Even before Edward's accession to the throne, that monarch, as related in previous chapters, had captured the hearts of his people, and his nine years' reign did not serve to minimize that sentiment in any way ; on the contrary, he increased it by conforming to the constitutionalism expected

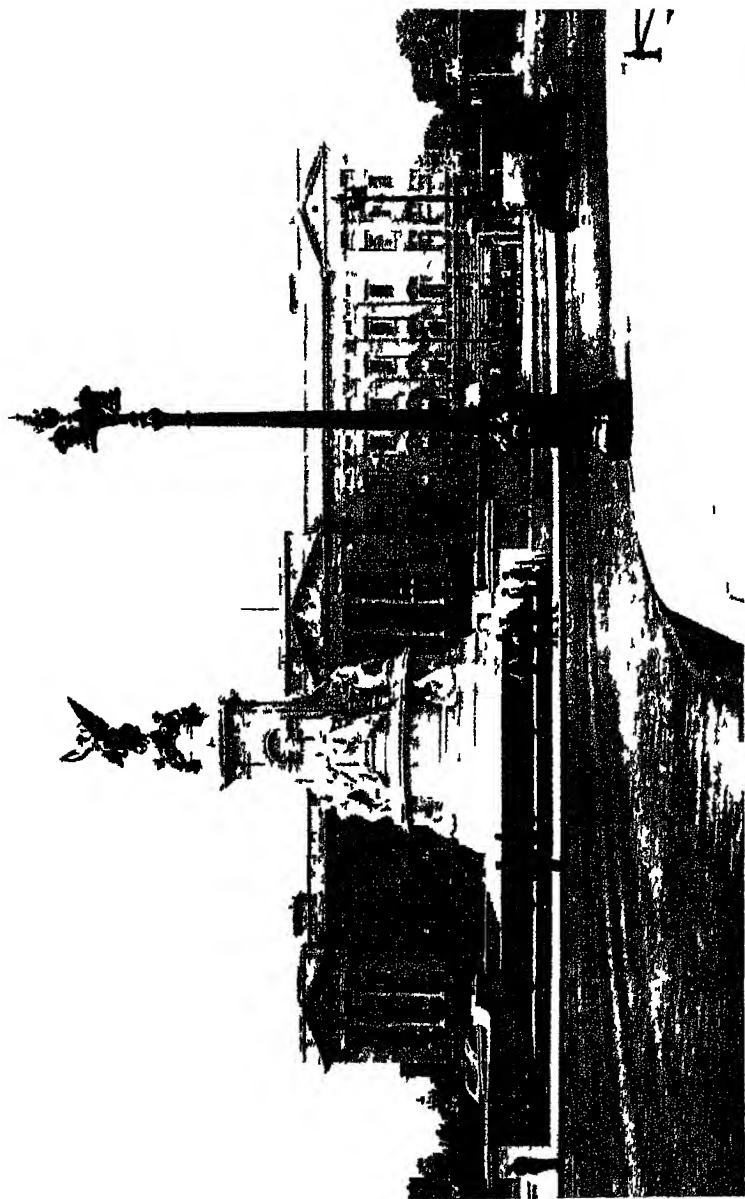
of him in a far greater degree than any other monarch before him since George I, but at the same time exhibiting a far greater democratic spirit than any other Sovereign from the days of King Alfred.

At the time of his death King Edward was the idol of his own people, and the most respected, the most honoured monarch throughout the world, so much that, dead though he was, he overshadowed the personality of the newly crowned King. Under the circumstances, it must be admitted that, during the first few years of his reign, it could not be said with truth that George V was a popular monarch.

General opinion forgot that comparisons are always odious: they compared the quiet serenity of King George with that of the jovial bonhomie of his father, the imperial dignity of his consort, Queen Mary, with the sweet graciousness of King Edward's Consort, Queen Alexandra. One might almost say that, at that time, the people's regard for their Majesties was as apathetic as the English people's regard for their lawful Sovereign ever can be. Needless to say these sentiments were not changed by the political crisis which culminated in the earlier part of 1914, when a certain section of M.P.'s in Parliament made a vile attack upon His Majesty. The affair is too recent to merit any comment in these pages, other than to say that the King weathered the storm with such tact that for the first time his people began to have an inkling of the sterling quality which he had hitherto kept hidden with a modesty entirely his own.

Soon after that came the fatal August, when the world was thrown into a cataclysm from which it did not recover for another four years—one might pertinently ask whether it has yet recovered?

The conduct of His Majesty King George V from the beginning of the war until the date of the publication of this history has been such that now it is no exaggeration to say, despite the memory of his father, King Edward, despite the frantic hero-worship—wholly deserved—with which the people regard his eldest son, King George has earned himself



ANOTHER VIEW OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

a deeper niche in the regard of his people than any other monarch before him, not excluding his father.

This, then, is the monarch who, on his personal merit alone, has won the hearts of his people, and who lives behind the walls of Buckingham Palace, which now, more than at any time, is indeed a Royal abode, for in it the King lives the greater part of his time, and only those who are sheltered behind its doors know to what extent he unceasingly labours on behalf of his people.

Of his life when he is at the Palace, there have been several accounts written in the last ten years or so, of which perhaps the best is that of Monsieur Boudurier de Chassaigne. It was written for the French "*L'Illustration*," and the translation hereunder is by Mr. Edward Legge, which that outspoken author has used in his book on King George entitled : "*King George and the Royal Family*."*

Written though it was in 1914, it applies as equally to-day as it did then ; except perhaps that the King works even harder :

" When the King is at Buckingham Palace he rises early. He has finished dressing before eight, and when the weather permits he sometimes rides in the Row with Princess Mary, who celebrated her seventeenth birthday on April 25, 1914, the day after her parents' return from Paris. Should it be a wet or dull morning, His Majesty goes through his letters before breakfast. The King keeps in epistolary touch with his innumerable relatives at the European Courts. Whenever he cannot, for one reason or other, pay his daily visit to Queen Alexandra, he writes to his mother not merely a few lines, but often several pages, informing her of all that has happened. The King is also credited with writing daily to his cousins, and to even more distant relatives abroad. At a quarter past nine the King and Queen breakfast together, being joined by Princess Mary and those of her brothers who are at the Palace. The frugality of their Majesties is

* Grant Richards, 1918.

proverbial. The breakfast menu is of the simplest : China tea, toast, marmalade, and fish or eggs. This meal is soon over, and usually by half-past nine the King is in his study, where he remains until luncheon.

" Between breakfast and lunch His Majesty receives the principal members of his household—Sir William Carington,* Lord Stamfordham, Colonel Sir Frederick Ponsonby or Colonel Clive Wigram, and Sir Derek Keppel. The King's writing-table is kept in perfect order, so that His Majesty can always lay his hand upon any letter or document which he requires. Towards eleven o'clock all the London papers are brought in. Certain articles and paragraphs are marked with a blue pencil, but the papers are all laid before the King un mutilated ; for His Majesty insists upon seeing everything himself. He reads everything of interest in the journals, and what he reads he remembers (as, I may add, did King Edward). The newspapers which he cannot read before lunch he goes through in the afternoon or evening. His Majesty is kept *au courant* of all that happens in the Government offices. Before lunch the King gives audience to Ambassadors and Ministers Plenipotentiary, Colonial Governors, naval and military superior officers ; thus he has not a moment's leisure between breakfast and lunch. This latter meal (served at half-past one) is of democratic simplicity : two dishes at most, fish and meat ; an *entremets*, fruit, and a cup of coffee.

" By a quarter to three the work left over from the morning is finished, and the King gives brief audiences† to Ministers and official personages. Shortly after three the King, often accompanied by the Queen, visits his mother and other members of the Royal Family. Sometimes His Majesty plays racquets for an hour in the afternoon.‡ Racquets and riding form the King's

* Died October 7, 1914.

† During the Irish trouble in March and April, 1914, some of these audiences were of portentous length.

‡ In recent years a large conservatory was converted into a full-sized racquets court, access to which is gained direct from the royal apartments.

principal exercise when he is in London ; but he frequently strolls through the extensive grounds of Buckingham Palace.

“ Tea is served at five o'clock, and then their Majesties can chat over the events of the day. From half-past five until after eight the King is hard at work in his study. At half-past eight the Royal couple and their children dine. If there are no guests the evening menu is as simple as the other meals ; one kind of fish and one of meat, an *entremets*, fruit, and coffee. When their Majesties are not at the theatre or ‘ in the world ’ they retire early, generally between ten and eleven. Unlike his father, King George is not a great cigar smoker. He does not, however, disdain a good Havana or a cheroot ; but he prefers cigarettes, although he is a very moderate smoker even of these.”

With this pen-picture of the King's daily life the history of the Palace comes to an end—a fine end, for it seems as if, since the days when George IV sat on the throne, each successive monarch has been more capable and more beloved by the British people. William IV was a far better King than the fourth George, Victoria proved herself a magnificent, if not an ideal, Queen, considering the many circumstances which had already been mentioned. Nevertheless, despite the fine record which will everlastingly record the glory connected with her name, King Edward was even greater than she, having reached a pinnacle of kingship upon which one might think there could be no improvement. Yet King George V has, and is every day, proving himself greater than his illustrious father. In his own quiet, thoroughly English manner, he rules his country ideally. To-day he is loved, respected, and admired, and however much one may have loved King Edward, that monarch had certain qualities which one could scarcely admire. No man can be perfect, doubtless King George is as far from being perfect as any of his predecessors, but with all sincerity one must admit that

276 THE STORY OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE

only posterity will reveal King George's imperfections. They will never trouble his people of to-day.

Not alone does the King receive the adulation of the people. Queen Mary is as greatly respected, while as for his son, Prince Edward, mere words cannot express the sentiments felt towards him by every man, woman, and child in the whole of the conglomeration of races and peoples who make up the British Empire ; he is his grandfather all over again, and a little more, for whereas King Edward was a Prince in heart, habit, and inclination, who knows the wild longing of our present Prince of Wales to be free of his destiny, to be a mere humble subject of King George V instead of the Heir-Apparent ?

If the other remaining members of the Royal Family are not so overwhelmingly popular as the Prince of Wales, at least they do not lag far behind, which is in itself, indeed, sufficient praise. Princess Mary, the Duke of York and his charming wife, the Princess Elizabeth, Prince George, and Prince Henry . . . good fellows all, long may they remain so !

Thus with King George V this history finishes, the King George who will never be known as King George the Great, but who will one day be admitted, at least, as the greatest George.

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INDEX

A

Abel, the viol-di-gamba player, 163
 Abraham, 138
 Academy, the Royal, 208
 Accounts, Royal household, 217-20
 Addison, 22
 Adolphus, Duke of Cambridge, son of George III, 156, 221
 Adolphus Frederick IV, Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, 136
 Albeinrie, Duke of, 86
 Albert, Prince, of Saxo-Coburg and Gotha, his marriage with Queen Victoria, 286-7
 attempt on the life of, 243-4
 and Mendelssohn, 244-6
 death of, 254
 Albert Victor, Prince, eldest son of Edward VII, 266
 death of, 266
 Albertazzi, Madame, 232
 Alexandra, Queen, 201, 264-5, 272, 273
 Alfred, King, 272
 Alfred, Prince, son of George III, 221
 Amalfi, silk-breeding in, 17
 Amelia, Princess, daughter of George III, 150
 America, United States of, 129, 252, 263
 American Civil War, the, 252
 Ananias, 141
 Ancaster, Duchess of, 137
 Andover, 45
 Andromache, 148
 Anglesoy, James Annesley, Earl of, 119
 Anglican Church, the, 64
 "Anglus," 267
 Anne, Princess, 89, 264
 proclaimed Queen, 96
 her friendship with Sheffield, 97-8
 death of, 100
 Annesley, James, Earl of Anglesoy, 119
 Anson, Lord, 187
 Anson, Miss, 238
 Ansis, Mr., 124
 Antwerp, 17
 Apollo, 104
 Argyll, Duke of, 241
 Arlington, Earl of. *See* Bennet, Henry
 Arlington, Lady, 47, 59, 63, 69
 entertains Louise de Keroualle and Charles II, 60
 Arlington House, 7, 72, 231
 built, 65
 purchased by Duke of Buckingham, 24
 described, 78
 described by Dryden, 65-8
 visited by Evelyn, 60
 rented by Duke of Devonshire, 78
 fire at, 83

Armstead, Mrs., 180, 184
 Arnold, tutor to George IV, 176-8
 Ascot races, Queen Victoria at, 235
 Ascough, Dr. Francis, 128
 Asia Minor, silk industry in, 16
 Aston, Colonel, 87, 88
 Aston, Sir Edward, 20
 Aston, Walter Lord, appointed keeper of Mulberry Garden, 20, 22
 created Knight of the Bath, 21
 appointed Ambassador to Spain, 28
 his petition to Charles I, 35
 "Athenæum," the, 214
 Athenians, the, 141
 Athens, 17
 Atterbury, Bishop, Dean of Westminster, 110-20
 Auction House, the, in St. Alban's Street, 82
 Augusta, daughter of the Duke of Cambridge, marriage of, 210
 Augusta, daughter of Frederick II, 126, 130
 Augusta, sister of George III, 158, 175
 Augusta, daughter of George III, 150, 171, 172
 her letter to Miss Goldsworthy, 164-5
 Augustus, Duke of Sussex, son of George III, 156, 221, 228
 Augustus, Emperor, 200
 Austrians, the, 202
 Avignon, silkworm establishment in, 17
 Axford, 131-4

B

Babylon, silk industry in, 16
 Bach, Johann Christian, at Queen's House, 152-3
 Bagshot, 172
 Balnoral House, leased by Queen Victoria, 264
 Bambury, Sir Thomas, 138
 Banvard, John, 127, 129, 131, 160
 Barbary States, the, 77
 Barbour, Miss, 70
 Barham Down, 36
 Barnard, librarian at Queen's House, 158-4
 Bartlett, John, his attempt on the life of Queen Victoria, 248-4
 Batelier, 31
 Bath, 63
 Bavaria, the Mad King of, 185
 Beachy Head, battle of, 77
 Beam, John William, attempt on the life of Queen Victoria, 244

Bedlam, 163, 167
 Belgians, King of the, 232, 244
 Benn, Wedgwood, 268
 Bennet, Henry, Earl of Arlington, born at Harlington, 44
 secretary to the King, 42
 joins royal forces, 45
 on the Continent, 45
 becomes member of Parliament, 46
 is offered Privy Purse, 46
 becomes Secretary of State, 46
 buys Goring House, 46
 a favourite of Charles II, 48
 receives title of Lord Arlington, 49
 his interview with Miss Stewart, 50
 marries Isabella De Brederode, 51
 as Ambassador in Spain, 52
 reconciliation with Buckingham, 55
 bribed by Spain, 57
 his house at Euston, 60
 made Earl of Arlington and Viscount Thetford, 61
 made Knight of the Garter, 61
 his extravagance, 62
 made Lord Chamberlain, 64
 rebuilds Goring House, 65
 retires from politics, 72
 character and manners of, 53-4, 112, 116
 death of, 74
 Bennet, Lady Isabella, daughter of Henry Bennet, marriage of, 61, 71
 gives birth to a son, 73
 lets Arlington House to Duke of Devonshire, 78
 sells Arlington House, 84
 Bennet, Sir John, 44
 Bentley, 156
 Berfingen, Van, 70
 Berkeley, Sir Charles, 40, 48
 Berkeley, Mrs., 187
 Berkley House, 83
 Berry, Sir John, 76
 Besant's "Survey of London," 24
 Besselsleigh, Lenthall's house at, 40
 Billington, Mrs., mistress of George IV, 139
 Birch, Rev. Henry, 268
 Blackheath, 192
 Blome, Edward, architect, 208, 268
 his alterations to Buckingham Palace, 229-30, 237, 249-50
 Boswell, 154
 Bourbon, Duke de, 170
 Bower Lodge, the, Kew, 175
 Boyse, 65
 Brandenburg-Anspach, 180
 Brederode, Isabella De, wife of Henry Bennet, 51, 56
 Brentford, 41

D

Damascus, silk industry in, 16
 Damocles, 243
 Danby, 64
 Darlington, Countess of, 131
 Darnley, Catherine, Duchess of
 Buckingham, 100, 121, 125,
 152, 256
 eccentricities of, 122-4
 death of, 124
 Darnley, Lord, 14
 Deane, Ant., 42
 Denmark, Prince George of, 97
 Denny, Edward, 36
 Denny, Henry, 34
 Derby, 70
 Derby, Sheriff of, 82
 Devonshire, Duke of. *See*
 Cavendish, William
 Dickens, Charles, 252
 "Dictionary of National Bio-
 graphy," the, 35
 Dioppe, 58
 Digby, Colonel, 185
 Digby, Lord, 45
 Dorchester, Countess of. *See*
 Sedley, Catherine
 Dover, 13, 58, 237
 Dover, Street, 252
 Drury Lane Theatre, 166, 170
 Dryden, 82, 79, 80, 111, 120
 his poems describing Arling-
 ton House, 65-8
 made Laureate, 87
 Dublin, 283
 Dutch wars, 55, 86, 89, 112
 Dyce, 253

E

Eastlake, 253
 Ecclesiastical Commission, the,
 91
 Edinburgh, 258, 293
 Edinburgh, Castle, James I born
 in, 14
 Edward I, 240
 Edward VII, 252, 254, 276
 born, 239, 255
 accession of, 255, 261
 character of, 255, 260-1, 271-2
 verses relating to, 256-9
 early years and education of,
 258-9
 moves into Buckingham
 Palace, 262
 illness of, 262-3
 travels of, 263
 fatal illness of, 264-5
 Edward, Duke of Kent, son of
 George III, 221-3
 married, 222
 death of, 223
 Edward, Duke of York, brother
 of George III, 127, 129
 Edward, Prince of Wales, eldest
 son of King George V, 272,
 276
 Edinburgh, Lord Howard of, 197
 Egypt, 219
 silk industry in, 16
 Elizabeth, Queen, 84
 attempts to introduce silk
 industry into England, 17
 Elizabeth, Princess, daughter of
 George III, 171, 172
 Elizabeth, Princess, grand-
 daughter of George V., 276
 Ellis's "Letters," 75
 Elymas the Sorcerer, 141
 Enchling Alley, 75
 England, Church of, 126

England, the Deputy Earl Mar-
 shal of, 170
 English Renaissance, the, 268
 Epitaphs, 120
 Epsom Park, 285
 Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, son
 of George III, 166, 221, 222
 Essex, 37
 Etherage's play, "She Would if
 She Cou'd," 29
 Etruria, 213
 Euston, Lord Arlington's resi-
 dence at, 59-60, 65
 Euston Church, 65
 Evelyn, John, the diarist, at
 Mulberry Garden, 22
 visits Goring House, 47, 62
 his description of Lord Arling-
 ton, 54
 dines at Arlington House, 60
 at marriage of Lady Isabella
 Bennet, 71-2
 and quarrel between Cole-
 peper and Cavendish, 82

F

Fairfax, 37
 Fenwick, Sir John, 96
 Feodore, Princess, of Leiningen,
 225
 Ferdinand, Duke, of Saxo-
 Coburg, 232
 Faversham, Lord, 93
 Fielding, 22
 "First Gentleman of Europe,"
 182, 223
 Fischer, the oboe player, 153
 Fisher, Herbert W., 258
 Fishmonger's Hall, 72
 Fitzherbert, 183
 Fitzherbert, Mrs., and George
 IV, 183-4, 189-7, 194
 Fitzroy, General, 151
 Fitzroy, Henry, Duke of Graf-
 ton, born, 76
 marriage of, 61, 71
 made Knight of the Garter, 76
 captains the *Grafton*, 76
 joins forces with William of
 Orange, 77
 wounded at Cork, 77
 death of, 77
 Five Mile Act, the, 50
 Flanders, 45, 81
 Fleury, Cardinal, 122
 "Florizel, Prince," 170, 179, 180
 Forneron, 57
 Foster's Life of Dickens, 252
 Fox, 166, 178, 180, 181, 186, 187
 Fox's Ministry, fall of, 181
 Franco, 86, 88, 45, 56, 157, 241,
 263
 silk trade introduced into, 17
 Francis I, 241
 founds silkworm establishment
 at Tours, 17
Fraser's Magazine, 207, 209
 Frederick II, Duke of Saxo-
 Gotha, 126
 Frederick, Duke of York, son of
 George III, 166, 171, 175,
 179, 187, 221
 death of, 225
 French, the, 202, 241
 Friedrich, Grand Duke of
 Mecklenburg-Strelitz, 246
 Fuentarabia, Treaty of, 45

G

Gainsborough, 143
 Gale, 25

Gallery of Illustration, the, 252
 Garraway coffee house, the, 75
 Garway, Thomas, coffee-house
 keeper, 75
 Genoa, silk-breeding in, 17
 Gentilefohi, 104
Gentleman's Magazine, the, 32
 George I, 109, 120, 127
 crowned, 120
 death of, 126
 George II, as Prince of Wales,
 121, 123
 accession of, 126
 death of, 126, 134
 George III, born, 127
 early years and education of,
 127-30
 story of Hannah Lightfoot
 and, 131-4
 marriage of, 137-8
 accession of, 126, 134
 coronation of, 138-9
 buys Buckingham House, 130
 library of, 142, 205
 attacks the Whigs, 146-7
 life at Queen's House of, 147-
 52
 Interviews Dr. Johnson, 154
 and the rioters, 161-2
 illness of, 158, 163-5
 attempts on the life of, 165,
 166-7
 character of, 168
 insanity of, 168-70, 188
 death of, 170, 188
 the sons of, 221
 George IV born, 139, 174
 created Prince of Wales and
 Earl of Chester, 174
 early years of, 175-8
 made Knight of the Garter,
 175
 as Prince of Wales, 155, 162,
 164-6, 168-9, 174-94
 as Prince Regent, 170, 171,
 178, 194-6
 amorous adventures of, 178-
 80, 182-4, 193-4
 financial difficulties of, 180-1,
 185-9, 192
 marries Mrs. Fitzherbert, 184
 his marriage with Princess
 Caroline, 191
 separation between Princess
 Caroline and, 192
 quarrels with his father, 194
 becomes King, 196
 coronation of, 197-8
 anonymous verses concerning,
 201
 rebuilds Buckingham Palace,
 8, 200-4
 his retirement from public life,
 198, 204
 character of, 176-7
 death of, 204, 212, 225
 George V, 252
 born, 255
 early life of, 266
 created Prince of Wales, 266
 accession of, 266
 and political crises, 271
 character of, 272-3, 275-6
 daily life of, 273-5
 George, Prince, of Denmark, 97
 George, Prince, son of King
 George V, 276
 German Emperor, the, 263
 Germany, 222, 244, 258
 Gerrard, Lady, 22
 Gibbs, F. W., 253
 Gibraltar, 263
 Gilray, 139, 168, 178

Glarstone, 241
 Gloucester, Duke of, marriage of 170-2
 Gloucester, Princess Sophia of, 171
 Gloucester House, 171
 Gluck, the composer, 246
 Goldsworthy, Miss, Princess Augusta's letter to, 164-6
 Goldsmith, 22, 155
 Goring, Charles, son of George Goring, Earl of Norwich, petitions for grant of Mulberry Garden, 42
 Goring, George, Earl of Norwich, 23
 career of, 34-8
 purchases rights of Mulberry Garden, 36
 takes part in the Civil War, 36-7
 trial of, 38
 his influence on behalf of Lenthall, 40
 death of, 41
 Goring, George, son of George Goring, Earl of Norwich, 42
 Goring House, 7, 34
 let to St. John Shaw, 23
 visited by Pepys, 24
 used by Lenthall, 30
 occupied by Henry Bennet, 44
 visited by Evelyn, 47, 62
 destroyed by fire, 63
 rebuilt and renamed, 66
 Gotha, Prince of, brother of Prince Albert, 246
 Gotha, Princess of, 246
 Graeme, Colonel David, 136
 Grafton, the, 70, 77
 Grafton, Duke of. *See* Fitzroy Henry
 Grafton, Duchess of. *See* Bonnet, Lady Isabella
 Grammont, Count, 49, 50, 51, 52-3
 Great War, the, 272
 Greece, 213
 silk industry introduced into, 16-17
 Greeks, the, 202
 Green Park, the, 265
 Greenwich, 137, 190
 Greenwich Park, 37
 Grenville, 145, 168, 159
 Greville, 227-8
 Gris, Madame, 232
 Grosvenor, Lord, 206
 Grosvenor Place, 148, 271
 Grosvenor, Sir Thomas, 78, 99
 Grosvenor estate, the, 23, 78
 Grote, the historian, 253
 Grunner, 250
 Guicciardini, 69
 Gwyn, Nell, 70, 264

H

Hague, the, 44
 Halifax, 62, 64
 Hamilton, Lady Anne, 108
 Hamilton, the Duchess of, 137
 Hammarsmith, 136
 Hampstead, 243
 Hampton Court, 140
 Handel, 143
 anecdote of, 155-6
 Hanger, Colonel George, 187, 193
 Hanover, Elector of, 120
 Hanover, Kingdom of, 180, 198, 221, 222

Hanover, Princess Sophia, Electress of, 68, 126
 Harcourt, Lord, Governor to George III, 128
 Harcourt, Mrs., 150, 104
 Hardington, birthplace of Henry Bennet, 44
 Hartlib, Nath, wedding of, 24
 Harwich, 137
 Hastings, Lady Flora, Lady of the Bedchamber to Duchess of Kent, 233-4, 230
 death of, 234
 Hastings, Marchioness of, 233
 Hastings, Marquis of, 233
 Hatfield, James, his attempt to shoot George III, 167
 Hayer, Dr., Bishop of Norwich, proceptor to George III, 128
 Henrietta Maria, 34
 Henry IV of France, 15
 Henry VII's chapel, 110, 213
 Henry VIII builds St. James's Palace, 14
 Henry, Prince, son of King George V, 276
 Herbert, Charles, inherits Buckingham House, 124
 created baronet, 125
 marries, 125
 sells Buckingham House to the Crown, 125, 130
 Herrenhausen, 126
 Hertford, Lady, 104
 Hippocrates, 102
 Holland, 36, 47, 51, 70, 74
 Holland, Earl of, 36
 Holland House, 130
 Holborn Restaurant, the, 270
 Holderness, Lord, tutor to George IV, 177
 Holles, Lord, 46
 Holroyd, of Scotland Yard, 166
 Holt, 144
 his description of marriage of Duke of Gloucester, 170 2
 Holyrood, 203
 Home Rule question, the, 271
 Hood, Lady, 198
 Hood, Lord, 104
 Horse, Master of the, 216
 accounts of, 219
 Howard, Colonel, 80
 Howard, Lord, of Edlington, 197
 Howard, Lucy, 104
 Howard, Thomas, his attack upon Cavendish, 80
 imprisoned in the Tower, 81
 Hrush, 206, 215
 Hull, 69, 120
 Hunt, T., his parody on Buckingham Palace, 202-3, 207
 Hurd, Bishop, tutor to George IV, 177
 Hurley-on-Thames, the Manor House at, 62
 Hurstpierpoint, 34
 Hyde, Edward, Earl of Clarendon, 36, 68, 39, 42, 46, 48, 54, 55
 Hyde Park, 202, 234
 Hyde Park Corner, neighbourhood of, 13

I

India, 263
 Indians, 101

Indulgence, Declaration of, 55, 61
 Ireland, 38, 45, 65, 198, 263
 Home Rule for, 271
 Italy, 45, 258
 Italy, King of, 263

J

Jackson, Dr., tutor to George IV, 177
 Jacobites, the, 65, 119, 122
 James, Mrs., 187
 James I, 7, 34, 126
 born, 14
 early environment of, 14
 succeeds to the throne, 14
 his scheme for establishing silk-growing industry in England, 16
 failure of his silk-industry plans, 20
 character of, 14
 death of, 30
 James II, as Duke of York, 38, 62, 64, 73, 79, 89
 accession of, 74, 91
 flight from London of, 93
 illegitimate daughter of, 100
 James, 147
 Jellery, a jeweller, 190
 Jerrold, Douglas, 252
 Jersey, Lady, 100
 Jesse, 67, 117, 123
 Jews, the, 101
 Johnson, Dr., 22, 97, 110
 a visitor to Queen's House, 153-5
 his interview with George III, 154
 Jones, an errand boy, breaks into Queen's apartments, 230, 271
 Juno, 108
 Jusserrard, Monsieur, French Ambassador, 61
 Justines, introduction silk industry into Greece, 16

K

Kean, Charles, the actor, 253
 Keeley, the actor, 253
 Keeley, Mrs., 253
 Kempshott, 102
 Kendal, Duchess of, 131
 Kensington Palace, 195, 222, 226, 229
 Kent, 93
 Kent, Duchess of. *See* Leinin-gen, Princess of
 Kent, Duke of. *See* Edward, son of George III
 Koppel, Sir Derek, 270, 274
 Keroualle, Louise de, 57-61, 69
 Kew, 182, 160, 175, 178, 179
 Kiel, 263
 Killigrow, Dr., 32, 70
 King's Bench, Chief Justice of the, 170
 Kingston (Castle), 120
 Knightsbridge, 132
 Königsmark, Count, 81
 Kuffe, 144

L

Lablarho, Signor, 232, 238
 Landseer, 263
 Langton, 164
 Lambert, Mrs., 124
 La Reine Claude, 241

Lauderdale, 56
 Lecavill, Richard, 19
 Lee, George, 42
 Leeds, 39
 Leeds, his criticism of Buckingham Palace, 214-15
 Legge, Edward, his "King George and the Royal Family," 273-6
 Leicester House, 135
 Leiningen, Princess of, marries Duke of Kent, 222
 and her daughter Victoria, 224-6
 Leiningen, Princess Féodore of, 232
 Leiningen, Prince of, half-brother of Queen Victoria, 232
 Lennox, Lady Sarah, 130, 138
 Lenthall, Speaker, and Lord Goring, 38
 resides in Goring House, 39
 called to the Bar, elected Speaker, 39
 his trials and difficulties, 40
 death of, 41
 Leopold, King, 247
 Leopold, Prince of Saxe-Coburg, 170, 171, 222, 229-4
 Leopold, marries Princess Charlotte, 195
 Leporello, Lord Viscount, 170
 Leslie, 253
 Leslie, Messrs., contractors for re-fronting Buckingham Palace, 208
 Levellers, the, 39
 Leyton, Duke of Buckingham's agent in Paris, 57
 Liddell, Miss, 238
 Lightfoot, Hannah, the "Fair Quakeress," 131-4, 200
 Lincoln, County of, 94
 Lisbon, 77
 Liverpool, 156
 Livy, 47
 Lloyd, Dr., 72
 London, 7, 37, 78, 102, 137, 162, 222, 237, 254, 268
 silk factories in, 17
 London, Bishop of, 172
 Long Parliament, the, 35, 39
 dissolved, 40
 Lorde, House of, 95, 117, 181
 Lorraine, Duke of, 38
 Loubet, President of France, 263
 Louis XIV of France, 46, 56, 70, 154
 Louise, Queen, 232
 Ludwig, the mad King of Bavaria, 185
 Luttrell, 52-3
 Luxemburg, Siege of, 76
 Lycæonia, 141
 Lyell, Sir Charles, the geologist, 253
 Lyon, silkworm establishment in, 17
 Lyttleton, Lord, 159
 Lyttleton, the Dowager Lady, 258

M

Macerone, Lady, 194
 Macky, 83, 111
 Macleod, 268
 Macpherson, James, historian, 33
 Macready, the actor, 253
 Madrid, 46, 60
 Maldstone, 87

Mall, the, 24, 102, 107, 207, 243, 214, 267
 Malta, 263
 Manners, General, 151
 Manning, the spy, arrest of, 39
 Malmesbury, Lord, 100
 Marble Arch, the, 270
 Marlenbad, 263
 Markham, Bishop, tutor to George IV, 177
 Marlborough, Lord. *See* Churchill
 Marlborough, Sarah Duchess of, 121, 123
 Marlborough House, 250, 262
 George V born at, 260
 Mary, Princess, daughter of George III, her marriage to Duke of Gloucester, 170-2, 195
 Mary, Princess, daughter of James II, 64, 93, 98
 Mary, Princess, Viscountess Lascelles, 273, 276
 Mary, Queen, 207, 272, 270
 Mary, Queen of Scots, 14
 Marybone, 102, 110, 200
 Mathews, Charles, the actor, 253
 Matthias, 32
 Mazarin, 36
 Mazarin, Duchess of, 70
 Mazarin, and Charles II, 71
 Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Duke of, 136, 246
 Melbourne, Lord, 227-8, 233
 resigns the Premiership, 234
 resumes office, 235
 Mendelssohn, Fanny, 246
 Mendelssohn's account of a visit to Buckingham Palace, 244-6
 Mers, Sir Thomas, 80
 Middlesex, Earl of. *See* Cranfield, Lionel
 Milan, 17
 Mile End, suburb of, 137
 Milton's "Paradise Lost," 144
 Minerva, 208
 "Mitte," the, 156
 Mohun, Lord, 81
 Monck, 40
 Monmouth, Duke of, 73, 77, 80
 Monmouth rising, the, 80
 Montagne, Ambassador in Paris, 58, 70
 Montagu House, 83
 Montague, the Duke of, tutor to George IV, 177
 Moore, Dr., Archbishop of Canterbury, 191
 Moors, expedition against the, 90
 Mulberry Garden, the, 18, 41, 70, 118
 planned by James I, 15
 visited by Evelyn, 22,
 becomes a pleasure resort, 23-25
 visited by Pepys, 25, 30-1
 granted by Charles II to Earl of Arlington, 33
 is closed, 33
 acquired by Lord Goring, 35
 Mulberry trees planted by James I, 18, 20
 Mulgrave, Earl of. *See* Sheffield John
 Murray, George, 23
 Murray, Hon. Amelia, 149, 195
 Muses, the, 104

N

Napier, Charles, 188

Napier, Major-General the Hon. George, 138
 Naples, 263
 Napoleonic wars, the, 200
 Nash, John, architect, 110, 169, 208
 rebuilds Queen's House, 199-204
 retires to Isle of Wight, 208
 death of, 208, 212
 Nelson, Lord, 208
 Nero, 189
 Newcastle, Duke of, 157, 159
 New Palace, 207, 212
 Newmarket, Charles II at, 59-60
 Nichol's "Select Collection of Poems," 116
 Nicholas, the Czar, 241
 Nicholas, Sir Edward, 38, 46
 Nicholson, Margaret, attempts to assassinate George III, 163
 Nomus, silk-breeding in, 17
 Northouck's "History of London," 21, 141
 Norfolk, 61
 Norfolk House, St. James's Square, 127
 Normanby, Lady, 238
 Normanby, Marquis of. *See* Sheffield, John
 Norreys, Lady, 238
 North, 45
 North, Lord, 161
 Governor to George III, 128
 Northumberland, Duke of, 77, 208
 Northumberland, Earl of, 86
 Norton, 87
 Nurwich, Bishop of. *See* Hayter, Dr.
 Norwich, Earl of. *See* Goring, George

O

Octavius, Prince, son of George III, 221
 O'Neale, Daniel, 23
 Onslow, 117
 Orange, Prince Henry Frederick of, 51
 Orange, William of, 64, 77, 92
 at Arlington House, 73
 King of England, 63-8
 death of, 90
 Orleans, Duke of, 170
 Orleans, Henriette, Duchess of, 57
 Ormond, Duke of, 45, 55, 62, 64, 79
 Osborn, estate of, purchased by Queen Victoria, 254
 Osnaburg, bishopric of, 189
 Ossory, Lord, 56, 63, 64, 89
 death of, 72
 Oxford, 73, 258
 attempts to assassinate Queen Victoria, 237-8
 Oxford, Lord-Treasurer, 114

P

Paget, Lord C., 238
 Palermo, silk-breeding in, 17
 Pall Mall, 81, 181
 Palma, 69
 Palmer, the razor-maker, 164
 Pankhurst, Mrs., 271
 Pantheon, the, 182

Papendiek, Mrs., 137, 150, 100, 176
 Papendiek, page to George III, 164
 Paris, 35, 57, 60, 70, 123, 273
 silkwork establishment in, 17
 Park Lane, 13
 Parker, Samuel, 208
 Parks, Sir Samuel, 132
 "Peacemaker," the. *See* Edward VII
 Pearce, Bishop, 138
 Peckham, 132
 Pedro II of Portugal, 77
 Peel, Lady, 211
 Peel, Sir Robert, Premiership offered to, 234
 refuses to form a government, 235
 Pennethorne, 250
 Pepsys, Samuel, visits Mulberry Garden, 26, 30-1
 visits Goring House, 24
 and Henry Bennet, 46
 Perdita, 170
 Peterborough, Bishop of. *See* Thomas, Dr.
 Phelps, the actor, 253
 Philippa, Queen, 210
 Philip's Norton, 77
 Pincadilly, 13
 Duke of Devonshire's house in, 84
 Pierce, 31
 Pierce, Mrs., 31
 Pinico, 220, 270
 Pimlico Palace, 7, 206
 Pike, Harry, breaks into Buckingham Palace, 270-1
 Pindar, Peter, 133, 130, 130, 144-5, 108
 Pitt, William, the elder, resignation of, 157, 159
 the younger, 180
 the younger, death of, 180
 "Plantagenet" fancy-dress ball, the, 240-3
 Plutarch, 255
 Plymouth, Lord, 81, 90
 Pope, 110-120
 Pope, Mrs., the actress, 138
 Ponsanby, Colonel Sir Frederick, 274
 Portland stone, use of in re-fronting Buckingham Palace, 268
 Portsmouth, Duchess of. *See* Keroualle, Louise de
 Portugal, 203
 Prior, Matthew, 120
 Proves, viceroy of Whitehall, 172
 Prussia, Princess Royal of, 221
 Prussians, the, 202
 Pynch, 257, 258

Q

"Quakeress, the Fair." *See* Lightfoot, Hannah
 Queen's House, 7, 145, 178, 181
 life at, 150-1
 anecdotes of, 152-5
 visited by Dr. Johnson, 153-5
 damaged by hurricane, 150
 in danger of being stormed by rioters, 101-2
 marriage ceremony in, 171-2
 arrival of Princess Caroline at, 181
 comes into possession of George IV, 198

rebuilt by George IV, 190-201
 cost of rebuilding, 207, 201
 known as Buckingham Palace, 211, 230

R

Rachel, M'Alle, the French actress, 243
 Raikes, 230, 217
 Raphael, 69, 103, 140
 Raphoe, Bishop of, 100
 Ranolagh, 22, 20, 182
 Raumer, Von, his criticism of Buckingham Palace, 212 14
 Rawdon, Lord, 187
 Reeve, Madame, the actress, 32, 79
 Regent, Prince. *See* George IV
 Regency Bill passed, 170
 Regent Street, 131, 200
 Regent's Park, 110, 200
 Restoration, the, 26
 Revolution, the, 93
 Ricci, 103
 Richmond, 183
 Richmond, Duke of, 52, 130
 Richmond Old Park, 143
 Riot Act, the, 102
 Riots, 150, 161
 Robes, Master of the, accounts of, 219
 Robinson, Mrs., as "Perdita," 170
 Rochester, Earl of, 80, 87, 91
 Rockingham, Marquis of, 157, 150
 Rockingham Ministry, the, 180
 Roles, Myrhuor, 24
 Roger of Sicily, King, 17
 Rols, Master of the, 170
 Romans, the, 13
 Roman Catholicism, 92
 Route, 123, 180, 102, 200, 207, 210, 203
 Ross, 253
 Row, the, 273
 Roxburgian Ballads, 115
 Royal, Princess, daughter of Queen Victoria, 248
 Royal, Princess, of Prussia, 221
 Royal Catherine, the, 80
 Royal Marriage Act of 1772, the, 180
 Rubini, Signor, 238
 Rupert, Prince, 70, 80
 Russell, Lord William, 80, 81
 Russians, the, 202
 Ruyter, De, 70

S

Sabine, General, 125
 "Sallot King," the. *See* William IV
 Saint-Evermond, a guest at Goring House, 47
 Sallot law, the, 222
 Salls, valet to Duke of Cumberland, 224
 Sandford, Ezekiel, 92, 112-15
 Sandringham purchased by Edward VII, 238
 Sandwich, Lady, 238, 230
 Sarah, 138
 Saxe-Coburg, Duke Ferdinand of, 222
 Saxe-Coburg, Prince Leopold of, 170
 Saxe-Coburg, and Gotha, Prince Albert of. *See* Albert, Prince

Saxe-Gotha, Frederick II, Duke of, 126
 Scotland, 50, 73, 108
 and England, union between, 97
 Church of, 227
 Schonberg, 63
 Scott, 123, 130
 Scott, Sir Walter, 223
 Scotland Yard, 106
 Secker, Archbishop, 138, 174
 Sedley, Sir Charles, his play, "Mulberry Garden," 28
 Serpe, Madame, 51
 Sedley, Catherine, Countess of Dorchester, 100
 Settlement, Act of, 55, 90, 120
 Sexby, 30
 Seymour, 100
 Shadwell's play, "The Humourists," 32
 Shaftesbury, 92, 73
 Shakespeare, 143
 Sheffield, Sir Charles. *See* Herbert, Charles
 Sheffield, Edmund, 2nd Duke of Buckingham and Normanby, 121, 125
 death of, 123
 Sheffield, John, Earl of Mulgrave, Duke of Duckingham, 53, 78, 80, 204
 born, 85
 education of, 85
 at Court, 80, 89
 challenges Rochester to a duel, 87-8
 commands the Royal Catherine, 89
 elected Knight of the Garter, 89
 plot against life of, 90
 appointed Lord Chamberlain, 91
 his loyalty to the Stuarts, 93, 90, 111
 his lawsuits with Cavendish, 83
 created Marquis of Normanby, 94
 his opposition to William III, 94 6
 given the dukedom of Normanby and Buckingham, 97
 buys Arlington House, 84, 90
 builds Buckingham House, 90-100
 marries, 100
 his letter to the Duke of Shrewsbury, 100-6
 retires from politics, 100
 character of, 111-17
 anonymous poem concerning, 115 16
 anecdote concerning, 117
 death of, 178
 his burial in Westminster Abbey, 110-20
 illegitimate son of, 124
 Sheres, 31
 Sheridan, 187
 Shrewsbury, Duke of, Sheffield's letter to, 100 6, 110
 Shrewsbury, Earl of, 92, 94
 Shrington, 23
 Shaw, St. John, 23
 Siddons, Mrs., the actress, 168
 Sidmouth, 223
 Silk industry, 16-17
 Silkworms, 18-19
 English, 25
 Sillisberg, Louise, 104
 Small, Mr., 106

Smith, Consul, library of, 112
 Smithfield Fair, 110
 Smyrna fleet, attack on, 55, 63
 Solebay, battle of, 89
 Somers, Sir John, 95
 Somerset House, 143, 145
 Sophia Carolina Maria, daughter of Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, 130
 Sophia, Princess, daughter of George III, 149, 150, 171
 Sophia, Princess, Electress of Hanover, 98
 South Sea Stock, the, 117
 Southampton, 220
 Southampton, Lord-Treasurer, 41
 death of, 55
 Spain, 56-7, 61, 258
 Spanish Olio, 81, 44
 Spitalfields weavers, the, 150, 240
 Spring Garden, shut by Cromwell, 22, 26
 mentioned by Pepys, 30
 St. Alban's Street, 82, 200
 St. Barnabas, 141
 St. George's Palace, 7, 207
 St. James's Chapel, 137, 191, 237
 St. James's Market, 181, 134, 200
 St. James's Palace, 128, 130, 143, 193, 174, 220, 237
 built, 14
 St. James's Park, 14, 18, 26, 31, 47, 99, 102, 162, 181, 203, 212
 St. James's Square, 127
 St. John's, Wapping, parish of, 181
 St. Martin-in-the-Fields, 85
 St. Patrick, 210
 St. Paul, 141
 St. Peter, 140
 Stamfordham, Lord, 274
 Stanfield, 258
 Stanhope, 104
 Stanhope, Lady Wilhelmina, 237
 Stallange, William, 15
 receives licence to publish a book, 15
 import and plant mulberry seeds, 17
 payments to, 18, 19
 Stallange, Jasper, keeper of Mulberry Garden, 21
 Stangate, 13
 Steward, the Lord, 216
 accounts of, 218
 Stewart, Miss, and Duke of Buckingham, 49
 interview with Lord Arlington, 49
 married Duke of Richmond, 52
 Stockmar, Baron, 258
 Stone, 128
 Stow, 23, 78
 Stuart, Henry, 14
 Surrey, 37, 106, 107
 Suffolk, Countess of, 181
 Suffragettes, the, 271
 Sulzer, M. de, tutor to George IV, 177
 Sussex, Duke of, 221, 228
 Sutherland, Countess of, 60
 Swift, 84
 Swinnerion, 188

T

Talbot, 81
 Tamburini, Signor, 282

Tangiers, 55, 90
 Tarver, Rev. C. F., 258
 Taylor, Joseph, 150, 151
 Tea, first made in England, 74-5
 Temple, 50, 64
 Thackeray, 250
 Thames, the, 105
 Thebes, 17
 Thetford, Viscount. *See* Bennet, Henry
 Thomas, Dr., Bishop of Peterborough, preceptor to George III, 129
 Thom's "Hannah Lightfoot," 183
 Thorshy's diary, 25
 Thornbury's "Old and New London," 24, 75
 Thynne, Thomas, assassinated, 81
 Tilbury Fort, 77
 Tillotson, Dr., Dean of Canterbury, 91
 Timbs, John, his "Curiosities of London," 74
 Times, the, anonymous letter to, 260-7
 Tofte, Fubiro, 110
 Torbay, 70
 Tory Party, the, 93, 98, 100, 188, 232
 Touraine, silk-worm establishment at, 17
 Trafalgar, Battle of, 208
 Treason Bill, the, 95
 Triennial Bill, the, 94
 Trinity House, 76
 Tuke, Lady, 62
 Turenne, Marshal de, 80
 Turks, 101, 202
 Turner, Betty, 31
 Turner, T., 31
 Twysden, Phillip, Bishop of Raphoe, 190
 Tyburn, the, 13
 Tyburn gallows, site of, 250
 Tyre, silk industry in, 16

U

Union between Scotland and England, the, 97
 United States, the, 120, 252, 263
 Unthanes, 31
 Utrecht, 82
 Uwina, extract from diary of, 253

V

Vankyke, 99
 Vauxhall Gardens, 22, 26, 182
 Venice, 142
 silk-worm breeding in, 17
 Venus, 103, 203
 Vernon, Harriet, maid-of-honour to Queen Charlotte, 179
 Versailles, Court of, 70
 Victoria, daughter of Duke Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, cousin of Queen Victoria, 232
 Victoria, daughter of Queen Victoria, 239
 Victoria, Queen, 8, 127, 145, 177, 210, 275
 birth of, 223
 childhood of, 224-5
 accession of, 226-8
 moves into Buckingham Palace, 230

recreations of, 231-2, 238
 and episode of Lady Flora Hastings, 239-41
 in political crises, 234-5
 marries Prince Albert, 236-7
 attempts on the life of, 237-8, 213-4
 children of, 239, 251
 and Mendelssohn, 244-6
 and Duke of Cumberland, anecdote relating to, 247
 her letter to Sir Robert Peel, 217-8
 and Charles Dickens, 252-3
 and Tennyson, 253
 private life of, 253-4
 character of, 251-2, 255, 256
 death of, 254
 Victoria Memorial, Queen, the, 267-9
 Vienna, 263
 Congress of, 247
 Villiers, Barbara, Countess of Castlemaine, Duchess of Cleveland, 46, 51, 57, 61, 76, 264
 Villiers, George, 1st Duke of Buckingham, 21
 Villiers, George, 2nd Duke of Buckingham, 82
 as favourite of Charles II, 48
 pays court to Miss Stewart, 49-50
 his description of Henry Bennet, 53, 115
 rivalry with Henry Bennet, 56-8
 London residence of, 7
 purchases Arlington House, 24
 Vinci, Leonardo da, 89

W

Waagen, 214
 Waela, road of, 18
 Waldegrave, Lord, Governor to George III, 129, 130
 Wales, Prince of. *See* George II; Edward, Prince
 Wales, Prince of, Frederick Louis, 126
 death of, 128
 Wales, Princess of, 25, 169
 Walford, 208
 Walmoden, Madame, 127, 131
 Walpole, Horace, 138, 146, 144, 178
 his anecdote of Catherine Duchess of Buckingham, 123-4
 Walpole, Sir Robert, 122
 Wallham, 34
 Wapping, 131
 Waterloo, Battle of, 208
 Watling Street, 13
 Webb, R.A., Sir Aston, his plans for improvement of Buckingham Palace, 267-70
 Webster, Ben, the actor, 253
 Wedgewood, Josiah, visits Queen's House, 156
 Wellington, Duke of, 208, 235, 247, 256
 Westbourne, the, 13
 Westminster, 13, 26, 44, 78, 182, 181
 Westminster Abbey, 119, 107-8
 Westminster, Dean of. *See* Atterbury, Bishop
 Westminster Hall, 138

Westminster, Palace of, 18, 210
 Whealley, 36
 Wheeler, Hannah. *See* Lightfoot, Hannah
 Wheeler, Henry, 131
 Whigs, the, 96, 97, 109, 115, 140-7, 181, 180, 188, 232
 Whitechapel, 137
 Whitehall, 58, 88, 93, 172
 Whitelocke, 38
 Wight, Isle of, 200, 254
 Wigram, Colonel Clive, 274
 William III. *See* Orange, William of
 William IV, as Duke of Clarence, 183
 succeeds to the Throne, 204, 225

 and Mrs. Jordan, 221
 death of, 226
 Williamson, Sir Joseph, secretary to Henry Bennett, 42, 57, 64
 Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, 87
 Williamson, Lady, 238
 Wimbledon, 159
 Windsor Castle, 87, 160, 178, 188, 192, 198, 237, 254
 restored by George IV, 109, 207
 Windsor Park, 204
 Woods and Forests, Department of, 190, 202
 Woolbrook Glen, 223
 Works and Public Buildings, Office of, 201, 250, 267

Wyatville, Sir Jeffery, architect, 100
 Wycherley, the dramatist, 31

Y

York, 89
 York, Duchess of, 171
 York, Duke of. *See* James II; Edward, brother of George III; Frederick, son of George III
 York, Duke of, son of King George V, 276
 York House, 167, 206
 Yorkshire, North Riding of, 97

